

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY,

FROM THE
Building of the CITY,

To the perfect
Settlement of the EMPIRE,

BY
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR:
Containing the Space of 727 Years.

Design'd as well for the Understanding of the
Roman Authors, as the *Roman* Affairs.

The Ninth Edition, carefully revis'd, and much improv'd.

By LAURENCE ECHARD, A. M.
Of Christ-College in Cambridge.

LONDON:

Printed for R. and J. BONWICKE, J. WALTHOE,
R. WILKIN, J. TONSON, T. WARD, and
B. BARKER. MDCCXXIV.



To the Right Honourable
Sir John Sommers, Kn^t.
Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of

ENGLAND;

And One of His MAJESTY's Most
Honourable Privy-Council.

May it please your Lordship,



Aving undertaken
to collect a short
Account of the *Ro-*
man Affairs, I here
presume to present it to your
Lordship; and were the *Per-*
formance in any degree answer-
able to the Nobleness of the
Subject, and the Greatness of
your

The Epistle Dedicatory.

your Lordship's Skill in this, as well as in all the politer Parts of Learning, I might justly hope to find it in some measure acceptable. But how mean soever the *Performance* is, I have still some fair Prospect of the *Design* ; and I was almost assur'd, from your Lordship's generous Inclinations, to promote the best and most useful Parts of Learning, that *such a Design*, cou'd not, by any other Means, be so acceptable to the *Publick*, as by having the Advantage of your Lordship's Name before it.

My Lord, I cannot pretend to any such Knowledge of the Law as to understand what is the surest Method of attaining to
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The Epistle Dedicatory.

Perfection in it. But as I am inform'd, some lay their Foundation in the ancient Histories of the *Saxons, Danes, and Normans*: Others, I am told, only by the Way of *Institutes, Reports, and Statutes*, arrive to a considerable Fame and Practice. But some there are, whose generous Industry carries 'em yet further, who think it necessary to spend some time in the *Roman History, Classical Authors, Civil Law, and the Pleadings of Cicero*. And, I need not go about to acquaint the World, that your Lordship's Excellency in all these, together with Your great natural Endowments, and answerable Improvements, did not only give your Lordship
very

The Epistle Dedicatory.

very high Advantages over Others, at Your first Appearance, but in a very short time rais'd You to the highest Dignity in the *Law*, and the utmost Favour of the greatest Prince in the World.

I speak not this, *My Lord*, so much to celebrate the singular Prudence and Justice of his Majesty, in advancing your Lordship to his most Honourable Station, as to shew the World what peculiar Reason I had to offer this humble Address, and how ambitious I was of appearing,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

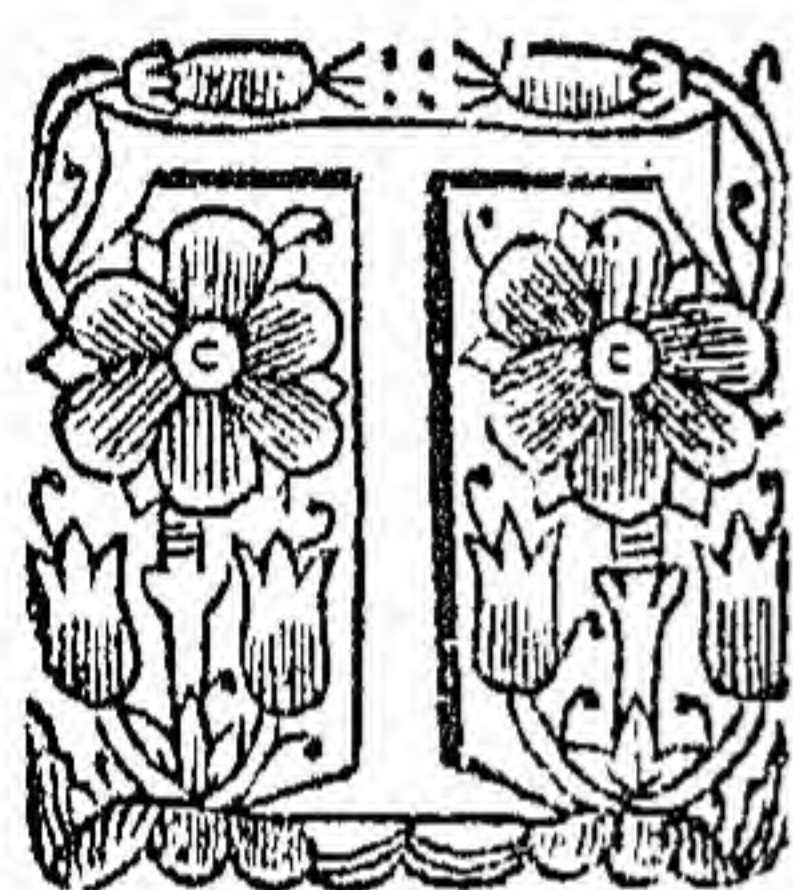
Most humble, obedient,

and devoted Servant,

Laurence Echard.



THE PREFACE.



HERE are requir'd so many Qualifications and Accomplishments in an *Historian*, and so much Care and Niceness in writing an *History*, that some have reckon'd it *One of the most difficult Labours that Human Nature is capable of*. And this seems the more probable, from the small Number of good *Histories* that ever yet appear'd in the World. Even the principal Writers of the *Roman History*, who are doubtless as excellent as any in the World, have not been free from Faults, or at least from Criticks, who have been very ready to make their several Remarks upon 'em. *Polybius*, say they, is a very good Author, but is too much addicted to Preaching. *Dionysius Hal.* is a very great Critick, but too morose, and may rather be plac'd among the Writers of *Antiquities* than *History*. *Diodorus Siculus* spends too much Time in Fables, and is not free from Trifling, and has but little of the *Roman Affairs*. *Dion Cassius* they
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look upon to be fickle, partial, a great Flatterer, and as great a Reviler. *Appian* is very well for Military Discipline, but is often out in the *Roman Affairs*. *Cæsar* only wrote of some of his own Matters, and was so Modest and Just as not to call his Book *History*, but *Commentaries*. Neither will *Plutarch* nor *Suetonius* go for *Historians*, they being only *Biographers*. *Livy*, say they, is indeed a great Man, but he is a little too verbose and circumstantial, and too much given to Prodigies and *Patavinity*. *Sallust* is blam'd for his *Preface*, which, they say, is not only large enough for the History of the World, but might as well stand before any other Book whatsoever. And something they have to say of all the rest, which I need not trouble the Reader withal.

But notwithstanding these several Censures, most of these Authors are very extraordinary in their kind, and generally are excellent Patterns to imitate, if it be done with Judgment. But how extraordinary soever they are, they are either all Fragments, or else so unfinish'd, that a compleat Body of the *Roman History* for six or seven hundred Years, can never be gotten out of any one of 'em. So that he, who expects to have any tolerable Account of the *Roman Affairs*, for so long a time, from old Writers, must, besides his understanding the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, put himself to a considerable Expence both of Money and Time; except he will content himself with that little he can learn from

from *Florus*, and such other immethodical and imperfect Epitomes. This Consideration is sufficient to vindicate my *Design*, in this following *Collection*; and I know none which is of it self more useful for Young Scholars or Gentlemen, or perhaps more entertaining. There never was any thing of this kind in our Language before, nor any thing relating to the *Roman Affairs*, but either what has been intermix'd with much more other History, or what has contain'd but a few Years of this Part. Of these I find none of any Note besides *Raleigh*, *Ross*, *Howel*, the Author of the *History of the Two Triumvirates*, and *Pedro Mexia*, Author of the *Imperial History*; the two last of which are Translations.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Account of the *Romans*, begins at the Building of the City, but contains but 586 Years, ending at the second *Macedonian War*: And tho' it cannot be deny'd but the last hundred Years is written with very much Spirit and Judgment, and all of it with as much Skill and Clearness; yet, besides the Inconveniency of being so intermix'd with other Matters, all before the first *Punick War*, bear no manner of Proportion with the rest, as to Length. *Ross* carries on Sir *Walter's* Design, but after such a disproportionate Manner, either for Length or Vigour, that I need not say any more of him. *Howel* is much more exact both for Method and Proportion in the *Roman History* than Sir *Walter*, and does not only

continue it as far as this goes, but above 300 Years further; which he has done with wonderful Pains and Industry. Yet notwithstanding all his Method, he has not justly proportion'd his Matter; his 57 Years Period, after the Expulsion of the Kings, is too long for the rest of his History; many memorable Actions between that and the first *Triumvirate*, are too short; the first *Triumvirate* it self is too long in his second Edition, and too short in the first; and the second *Triumvirate* is too short in both. Besides, he is often too flat and insipid to affect us thoroughly, and the Actions of the bravest Men are related too coldly and unconcernedly to move us as they ought; which, together with his frequent want of *Transitions* and Words of *Connection*, and his often mixing of Critical Learning, makes him far less pleasant than otherwise he might be. And what still adds to these Imperfections, is the Obscurity of his *Stile*, which proceeds sometimes from his unlucky or unnatural misplacing of his Words, and sometimes from his affecting a Shortness, without thoroughly considering and pre-observing the Dangers that attend that useful way of Writing. His *Collections* indeed are admirable, both for their Usefulness and Exactness; his *Decisions* very just and faithful; and his *Learning* very uncommon and curious. In short, we may say, that no Man ever more truly and carefully brought together the principal Matters of all the *Roman* Historians, than he; and that he was an incomparable *Collector* and *Compiler*,
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tho' at the same time, he was but an indifferent *Historian*.

I fear I have been too long upon this last, but still I must beg the Reader's Leave to consider the two remaining. *The History of the two Triumvirates* is a Translation from the *French*, and contains only 30 Years, but of the busiest Time of the Commonwealth. It is a History very ingeniously writ, handsomely put together, and faithfully collected; and is far more pleasant and palatable than *Howel's*. Yet as few Years as it contains, it is manifestly too tedious in many Places, which is occasioned sometimes from the natural Verboseness of the *French* Temper, and sometimes from the *Author's* descending too particularly to the lesser and more private Actions of Mankind; which makes him fall from the Majesty of an *Historian* to that of a Biographer. And, notwithstanding his being so very particular, he has wholly left out all *Cæsar's* Wars with the *Gauls*, which gain'd him so much Glory and Reputation, and was the Original of all his future Greatness. *Pedro Mexia* is a Translation from the *Spanish*, and contains the *Lives* of all the *Roman* and *German* Emperors to his own Time, which plainly shews him a Biographer; tho' besides, he has many excellent Marks of a *Historian*. He begins almost at the latter end of this History, and in effect contains not much more than 33 Years of it, and in that short Space he is extremely imperfect in one of the most principal Actions of the *Roman* History,

story, namely, the Settlement of the *Roman Empire* by *Augustus*.

After all this, I suppose it will be expected, that my own Piece is every way faultless, and has all the Perfections that can be desired from a Book of this Size or Proportion; but I will not be so foolishly vain as to pretend to that; I can only say, That I have in some measure endeavour'd to avoid the Defects and Faults of those Writers whom I have here taken notice of, and likewise to imitate their Excellencies, especially those of the Antients, as far as the Compass I have taken wou'd admit of, which has been a severe Curb to me. But to come closer to the Matter, it will be convenient to let the Reader know, in short, what he is to expect from this Book. It is an entire, tho' short, Account of the *Roman Affairs* for 727 Years, in which Compass of Time, the most memorable Things were acted, and the most famous of the *Classical Authors* flourished. It is collected with the utmost Fidelity from almost all the *Roman Historians* whatsoever, but more especially from these seven most noted, *Dionysius, Hal. Livy, Plutarch, Polybius, Dion Cassius, Appian, and Cæsar*. I found it very inconvenient to croud the Margent of every Page with these and many other Names as many do; but when it is needful, I quote 'em in the Body of the Book; particularly, when any uncommon Story is related, or any doubtful Point is to be decided. I have likewise been oblig'd to some of our modern

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Writers, but to none so much as *Howel*, and the *History of the two Triumvirates*, both whose accurate *Collections* have often sav'd me much Trouble, tho' I examin'd the Originals from whence they had 'em. Upon that Account I have copy'd 'em in many Places, and that too almost verbally, whenever I found it both for the Ease of my self, and the Advantage of my Book: For I am never cautious in *Borrowing*, as long as I acknowledge it, and can benefit my Reader, whose Good I always study before my own Commendation.

The Method of the Whole I have endeavour'd to make as easy and as natural as I cou'd, dividing and distinguishing the *Books, Chapters, and Sections*, with all the Skill and Judgment I had; so that I hope it will be all of it clearly comprehended, and the principal Matters as easily remember'd. Nothing is more necessary than convenient Resting-places for a Reader to take Breath at; and the want of this or the like Method will appear apparently in any Man's reading over *Livy*: for tho' the *Regal State* may there be clearly enough comprehended, by reason of the Nature of the Subject, yet the vast Variety of the Matter that follows, will not be master'd and retained without toiling and sweating: For it is a great Inconvenience when the Reader must separate and distinguish the Matter, where the Author has not done it. Then to make it still more clear, I have all the way intermix'd so

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much

much *Chronology* and *Geography*, as is necessary to illustrate the Story.

As for the *Stile*, I have made it as plain and intelligible as I cou'd; and as I have no ways affected Flourishes and the *French* Finery, so for the most part I have avoided all Meanness of Words or Expressions, endeavouring in some Measure to preserve the Gravity which belongs to *History*, and which ought not to be omitted in a *Collection*: Yet I must acknowledge, that I have bestow'd too little Pains in the perfecting of the *Stile* in some Places; at least not so much as I shou'd have done, had it been a Translation of any ancient Author; I mean as to the Niceties of our Tongue, and the Perfection of Periods. The *Speeches* are generally the most carefully done, tho' I cou'd scarce take any verbally, by reason of the little Compass I was allow'd: And upon that account I was forced in some Places to follow their Sense at a distance, which some, that are over-nice, will scarcely allow to a faithful *Historian*. And this little Compass likewise hinder'd me from having all the *Transitions* I cou'd have desired, tho' those of the principal Beauties belonging to the Way and Manner of writing Historical Matters.

To come to the Use of this Book: It will be particularly useful to young Students and Gentlemen, by giving 'em an Insight into the principal of the *Roman Customs, Laws, and Magistrates*; I mean such of 'em as cannot be so clearly

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ly learned from *Rosinus*, and Books of mere *Antiquities*. It is the historical Account of all the various Occasions and Circumstances that can best clear some of these things. The *Tribunes of the People* may serve for one Instance of this; for no Man can thoroughly understand the Nature of those Magistrates, without reading the History of their Creation, and likewise of their chief Actions afterwards. And still that this Book might be as compleat as I cou'd make it, I have at the most convenient Places intermixed the *History of the Roman Learning*, and given a short Account of all the principal *Authors*, as far as this History reaches: But still I have taken care to join all this to the rest in such a manner, as both might make but one entire Body.

But to shew more noble Uses of this Book, and that I may incite all Gentlemen to be well acquainted with the *Roman History*, of which this is an *Introduction*, I shall give 'em the Sense of what a very ingenious Man says upon this Subject. It is the Story of the Fate and Fortunes of a City that rais'd itself to an universal Empire, and became the Metropolis of the whole World; and all from a Troop of vagabond Shepherds, pack'd together upon the Banks of *Tiber*. It is a long Train of the Adventures of a People, scandalous as it were in their Origin, coming of an Extraction in a manner infamous, born and nursed up in Plunderings and Murders, and train'd up in Villanies; who became Wise, Frugal, Just, passionately studious of Glory, till
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they infinitely over-top'd the rest of Mankind : A People, whose Prudence in their Counsels, whose Maturity of Deliberations, whose Diligence in Execution, whose profound Secrecy in the most important Affairs, and whose noble Resolution in unavoidable Dangers, and the greatest Extremities, ought to be remember'd to all Ages. It is a History of a State that grew so mighty from so small Beginnings, of its Progress, its strange Changes, the Revolutions of its Power and Greatness, its amazing Exaltation, and the miraculous and almost unconceiveable Pitch of Glory it arriv'd at ; and all by its patient enduring of Hardships, by its Perseverance in Labours, by its exact Observation of Laws, by the inviolable Severity of its Discipline in the Duties of Peace and War, and by training up a well-regulated and courageous Soldiery, encouraged and elevated with the sole Prospect of aggrandizing the *Roman* Name. It was a Nation that was virtuous thro' a true Principle of Honour ; whose Valour was more the Product of the Head than Heart ; a Nation that courted or avoided Danger, from a Result of Prudence, and knew as well when to expose itself, as when to retreat, by the Dictates of Reason ; and obtain'd the Sovereignty over the rest of the World, more by the Reputation of its Virtue than the Force of its Arms.



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OF THE

Second Edition of this Book.

IN the Preface of this History I acknowledg'd that I had not bestow'd sufficient Pains in the perfecting the Stile in some Places; which proceeded not only from a want of Time, but also from the great Care I had upon me of perfecting the Matter, and proportioning its several Parts to that small Compass to which I was over-strictly confined. The principal Fault, besides a little Abruptness in some few Periods, was the having Expressions in several Places somewhat too low and vulgar for History, which requires the utmost Purity as well as the greatest Strength. This Fault is in a great Measure corrected in this Edition; which I assert with the greater Freedom, because I have been much assisted by Persons of the greatest Judgment in these Matters, whose Names I ought not to mention without their particular Leave.

In examining the Stile, I likewise found the Matter in many Places defective, and capable of great Improvements with no great Enlargements;
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for which Reason I have made several considerable Additions in most Parts of this History, especially in the last Book, and particularly in the third and fourth Chapters, where several material Actions were manifestly too short and lamely related. I am truly sensible that I have obliged those Persons who have bought the first Edition, in not putting these Additions in distinct Places, whereby they might have had 'em without buying the whole; but I hope they will the more readily pardon me, since these Additions are of that nature, that in many Places it wou'd be as difficult to separate 'em from the Body of the Book, as to separate the Alterations made in the Stile. I undertook this Edition the more willingly, because the Number of the first was so small, and therefore the less Injury done to the World; but I here promise never to make any further Additions to it for the future, nor any Corrections except those of the Press; of which there are some few occasioned by my distance from the Town, which I desire the Reader to correct as he reads the Book.



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THE
Roman History.

BOOK I.

*The Regal State of ROME, from the
Building of the City, to the Over-throw
of that Kind of Government.*

Containing the Space of 245 Years.

THE INTRODUCTION.
Of the Original of ROME, and its Inhabitants.

I. **I**N relating such great and remarkable Affairs as those of the *Romans*, it will be necessary to give some Account of the Original of that People: And, to make the Account as clear and intelligible as I can, it may not be amiss first to observe, That that Country which was anciently call'd *Italy*, of which *Rome* was afterwards the chief City, did not contain above one half of what now goes by that Name. But as small as it was, it contain'd many distinct Nations and People; the Principal of which were the *Aborigines*, *Sabines*, *Hetrurians* or *Tuscans*, *Umbri*, *Samnites*, *Campani*, *Apulii*, *Calabri*, *Lucanii*, and *Brutii*; and others of inferior Note, which were often dependent on
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these. As for the rest of what is now call'd *Italy*, that was principally possess'd by the *Gauls*, who had driven out the *Hebrurians*, and settled themselves in these Parts; being distinguish'd into several Names, as the *Senones*, the *Insubres*, &c. This Part went by the Name of *Gallia Cis-Alpina* and *Togata*, to distinguish it from that *Gaul* which is now call'd *France*, and was almost the same with the present *Lombardy*: The chief Inhabitants of it, besides the several Nations of the *Gauls*, were the *Ligures* and the *Veneti*.

Old *Latium*.

Latini.

Of all the formention'd People, the *Aborigines*, afterwards call'd by the Name of *Latines*, were of principal Note, not upon the Account of any particular Excellency, but as being better known, and much more enquir'd after by all Historians. These were of the Posterity of the *Oenotrians*, a *Grecian* People of *Arcadia*, who had driven out the *Seculi*, the first Inhabitants of these Parts of *Italy*. They possess'd the Country of *Latium*, a small Country along the River *Tiber*, about 30 Miles in Length, and 16 in Breadth, containing near a fourth Part of that little Province in the Pope's Dominions, now call'd *Campagna-di-Roma*. We find these govern'd by their own Kings nigh 200 Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, and above 1300 before *Christ*; the first Kings we hear of in *Italy*, or in all *Europe*, except *Greece*. These Kings kept their Courts at *Laurentum*, a City about five Miles off the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, and were Governors of a mix'd People: For first, some *Pelasgians* out of *Thessaly* settled among 'em; soon after *Saturn* from *Crete*, who fled from his Son *Jupiter*, which occasion'd their changing of their Names to *Latines à latendo*, from his lying hid there; next, *Evander* from *Arcadia*, then *Hercules* from *Greece*, with their several Followers.

But the last who settled in this Country, according to *Dionysius*, were some Relicks of the *Trojans*, under the Conduct of their Prince *Æneas*, who had
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left his native Country, and his enrag'd Enemies, to seek out foreign Habitations. These were about 1200 in all, tho' some will allow but half that number; and arriv'd in these Parts three Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, and above 400 before the Building of *Rome*, *A. M.* 2824. *Æneas*, at his first landing was very civilly entertain'd by *Latinus*, the King then reigning, as a Person of great Renown, who not only treated him honourably, but gave him his only Daughter *Lavinia* in Marriage. This occasion'd a War between him and *Turnus*, a Prince of the *Rutuli*, their near Neighbours, who had formerly made Pretensions to her; but these Wars soon ended in *Turnus's* Death, which did not only free *Æneas* from a Rival, but secur'd his Kingdom, which *Latinus* gave him for his Daughter's Portion after his Decease. *Æneas* thus settled, soon after built the City of *Lavinium*, in honour of his Wife, about five or six Miles East of *Laurentum*, where he kept his Court; and the more to oblige his Subjects, caus'd both them and his own Country-men to be call'd by the common Name of *Latini*: But ingaging in a bloody War with *Mezentius*, a King of the *Hetrurians*, he was slain, after a short Reign of four Years. His Subjects, in honour to his Memory, dedicated a Chapel to him, under the Title of *Jupiter Indiges*. *Jupiter Indiges.*

Upon the Death of *Æneas*, his Son *Ascanius* succeeded him in the Throne; but *Lavinia*, being left with Child by him, out of fear fled to the Woods, and was there deliver'd of a Son, who from the Place of his Birth had the Name of *Silvius*. Thirty Years after the building of *Lavinium*, *Ascanius* left it to his Mother-in-Law, and founded *Alba Longa*, about 12 Miles North of it, which he made his Seat. *Ascanius* had a Son call'd *Iulus*, from whom came the famous Family of the *Julii*: This Son, after his Mother's Death, contended with *Sylvius* for the Kingdom; but the People judging that to belong to *La-*

tinus's Race, gave the Kingdom to *Silvius*, and the Priesthood to *Iulus*, in whose Family it thenceforth continu'd. After *Silvius* succeeded 13 Kings of the same Race for nigh 400 Years, who all had their Seats at *Alba*, and many of them likewise had the Name of *Silvius*: These Kings were as following; *Æneas Silvius*, who reign'd 31 Years; *Latinus*, who reign'd 51, *Alba* 39, *Capetus* I. 26, *Capys* 28, *Capetus* II. 13, *Tiberinus* 8, *Agrippa* 24, *Alladius* 19, *Aventinus* 37, *Procas* 23, *Amulius* 42, and *Numitor*, who was the last King of *Alba*. Except the two last, we have but little remarkable concerning these Kings, only *Tiberinus* gave Name to the River *Tiber*, by being drown'd in it, it being before call'd *Albula*; and *Aventinus* gave Name to Mount *Aventine*, one of the seven Hills of *Rome*.

Tiber.

Aventine.

New Latium.

These were call'd the Kings of *Alba*, or of old *Latium*, which scarce contain'd the sixth part of what was call'd *Latium* in *Augustus's* Reign; which then comprehended not only the old *Latini*, but also the *Rutuli*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volci*, and *Arunci*. This Kingdom, tho' very small, according to the Dimensions before given of it, was very fruitful, populous, and full of Towns, and *Alba* it self was a great and flourishing City, and had been the Mother of thirty *Latine* Towns, when it was destroyed by *Tullus Hostilius* the third King of *Rome*.

A. M.
3209.

II. But to come close to the *Roman* Story; *Amulius* and *Numitor*, the two last of these Kings, were Brothers; and it was agreed between them, that *Numitor* the Eldest should have the Kingdom, and *Amulius* the Treasure and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. But Money having the Advantage of meer Authority, *Amulius* soon got his Brother out of his Kingdom; and, to secure it to himself against the Pretensions of his Posterity, caus'd his Son *Lau-
sus* to be murther'd in a pretended Hunting, and his
Daughter

Daughter of *Rhea* to be made a *Vestal* Virgin. In the fourth Year of her Priesthood, going to fetch Water, she was met and ravish'd by some Lover, or probably by *Amulius* himself, rather, as was suppos'd, to serve his other Designs, than to gratify his Lust. But for the Honour of the Cause, the Fact was laid upon *Mars*, in whose Grove it was committed, who came to her, as they will have it, in a most dreadful manner, with Thunder and Lightning. *Rhea* proving with Child, was deliver'd of two Boys, and thereupon was condemn'd to Death, or perpetual Imprisonment, and her Children were thrown into the River. But the Wind and Stream were both so favourable, that at the Fall of the Water, they were left safe upon dry Ground, and there happily found by *Faustulus*, *Amulius*'s Herds-man, and suckl'd by his Wife *Laurentia*, who, for her infamous Life, was call'd *Lupa*; and this probably might occasion the famous Story of their being nourish'd by a *Wolf*: The Names of these Twins were *Romulus* and *Remus*.

The Children, grown up, prov'd active and courageous, suitable to the Greatness of their Birth; but the Meanness of their Education gave 'em occasion of falling out with some of *Numitor*'s Herds-men; in which Contest *Remus* was taken Prisoner, and brought before the King. Upon which *Faustulus* discover'd to *Romulus* all the Particulars of his Birth, and hard Usage from *Amulius*; begging him to be assistant in the Rescue of *Remus*. *Romulus* soon drew together a great number of Herds-men and inferior People, who hated *Amulius*, whom he divided into Companies, consisting of an hundred Men each; every Captain carrying a small Bundle of Grass and Shrubs ty'd to a Pole. The *Latines* call such Bundles *Manipuli*; from whence it is, that in their Armies they call their Captains *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making At-
tacks,

tacks from without, *Amulius* not knowing what Expedient to think of for his Security, in that Amazement and Distraction, was taken and slain; the Brothers settling their Grand-father *Numitor* in his Throne, after he had been depos'd forty two Years.

A. M.
3251.

The Affairs of *Alba* succeeding thus prosperously, the young Men, ambitious of Glory, were desirous of founding a City in the Place where they were brought up; which Design was approv'd of by their Grand-father, who appointed 'em Land, with such of his Subjects as he knew were of his Brother's Faction; and likewise gave free liberty to all others who were willing to settle themselves in this new Colony. Most of the *Trojans* came in, (of which there remained fifty Families in *Cæsar's* time, as *Dionysius* informs us) and also all the Inhabitants about the *Palatine-Hill*, where the City was built, which was about 14 Miles North-West of *Alba*, upon the River *Tiber*. For the more speedy carrying on this Work, the People were divided into two Parts, who were to work by way of Emulation: But what was design'd for a considerable Advantage, prov'd a greater Inconveniency; for it gave birth to two Factions, whereof one preferr'd *Romulus*, and the other *Remus*; which swell'd 'em with the ambitious Desires of Pre-eminence. This soon appear'd in their Disagreement about the Place of Building, *Romulus* contending for the *Palatine*, where they were brought up, and *Remus* for the *Aventine-Hill*. Upon which, the Matter was brought before their Grand-father *Numitor*, who advis'd 'em both to go apart, and observe the Flying of Birds; and the most fortunate of the two should be counted the Founder of the Colony. They both took their Stations upon their own Hills, and *Remus* first had a Flight of six Vultures; but *Romulus* having, or pretending to have, double the number, both were

were saluted by the Title of *King*. This widen'd the Breach, and the Contention grew so hot as to come to a Battel, wherein *Remus* was worsted and slain, with several others, particularly *Faustulus* and his Brother *Plutinus*. But it is likewise said, that before the Battel, *Remus* gave his Brother many great Provocations, particularly by leaping over his Wall, to ridicule him for the Lowness of it.

Romulus, now sole Commander, and 18 Years of Age, began the Foundation of *Rome* in the fourth Year of the sixth *Olympiad*, according to *Varro's* Account, which was in the Year of the World 3252, the sixth Year of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and the seventh of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, 431 Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, 120 after the Building of *Carthage*, 214 before the Beginning of the *Persian* Empire, and 752 before *Christ*: And having got *Augurs*, and such sort of People from *Hetruria*, he set about it with much Ceremony, on the 21st Day of *April*, according to *Plutarch*, which Day the *Romans* anniversary kept holy, calling it their Country's Birthday. He took in the Mount *Palatine* only, and with a Heifer and a young Bullock plow'd up a Furrow where the Wall was design'd; which Custom was afterwards observ'd by the *Romans*, both in the Building and Razing of Cities; and where-ever a Gate was to be made, the Plow was lifted up, which occasion'd it to be call'd *Porta*, à *portando aratrum*: All within this Line was call'd *Pomærium*, from *Post-Murum*, or *Pone Mania*. The City was almost square, containing at first about 1000 Houses, and was nigh a Mile in Compass, with four Gates, namely, *Romanula*, *Janualis*, *Mucionis*, and *Carmentalis*; and a small Territory belong'd to it of 7 or 8 Miles long.

Thus we see *Rome* in its Original, a small inconsiderable beggarly Place, with Dominions still of less Note; which yet from this mean and contemptible Beginning, became Mistress of the World; being

first founded and supported by its *Kings*, then strengthen'd and enlarg'd by its *Consuls*, and at last brought to its utmost Perfection by its *Emperors*. As for the Arts and Contrivances, the Policy and Cunning, the Strength and Valour, and the gradual Proceedings, with the extraordinary Fortune, which contributed to make the *Romans* Masters of such vast and powerful Dominions, these are the Subject of this following *History*.



C H A P. I.

From the Building of the City, to the Death of Romulus, the first King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 37 Years.

U. C.
I.
King.

Tribes.

Curia.

I. **R**omulus having thus founded the City of Rome, by his Grand-father's Advice, left the Choice of the Government to the People, who immediately made him *King*, according to *Dionysius*; and he receiving it as a Gift from them, his Power became the more plausible and indisputable. The Number of the Colony consisted of about 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse; and the first Method he made use of to increase this Number, was his building a Temple to the *Asylæan* God, which he made a Sanctuary to all Malefactors and discontented Persons, who thereupon came in great Numbers from all the neighbouring Parts. He divided the People into three Parts, which were call'd *Tribes*, that is to say *Thirds*; and each *Tribe* was divided into ten *Curia*, which were much the same as our *Parishes*, as the *Tribes* were like our *Wards*; each *Curia* having its proper Temple and Sacrifices, and a Priest call'd *Curio* over it, and over all an Arch-Priest call'd *Curio Maximus*. Each *Curia* was likewise by *Romulus* subdivided

divided into ten *Decuria*, over which were appointed distinct Officers. According to the Number of the *Curia*, he divided the Lands into 30 Parts, reserving one Portion for publick Uses, and another for Religious Ceremonies. In all Matters of Importance for many Years, the People gave their Votes according to the *Curia*, and to what the major Part of the *Curia* agreed, was reckon'd the Resolution of the whole *Assembly*, each single Man having a Vote ; and this made that *Assembly* call'd *Comitia Curiata*. *Decuria.*
Comitia Curiata.

Romulus made also another Distinction of the People, according to their Honour and Dignity, which was into *Patritians* and *Plebeians*: The former, as being elder and more nobly descended, were to take care about the Religious Rites, bear Offices of Magistracy, administer Justice, and be assistant to the King in his Government : The latter to Till the Fields, feed Cattel, and follow Trades ; but not to have any Share in the Government, to avoid the Inconveniencies of a Popular Power. To bind the Principal each to the other, he recommended certain of the *Plebeians* to the Protection of the *Patritians*, liberty being given to the *Plebeians* to chuse their own *Patrons*. The Duty of these *Patrons* was to advise their *Clients* in Points of Law, to manage their Suits, to take care of 'em Absent and Present, as their own Children ; and by all Ways and Methods to secure their Peace and Happiness. On the other Side, the Duty of the *Clients* was to help their *Patrons* with Money upon many Occasions, to ransom them or their Sons if taken Prisoners, and to bear the Charges of their Magistracy, and other honourable Employments. They were never to accuse each other, or take contrary Sides ; for if they did, any one might lawfully kill them without Examination. So that this *Patronage* was an Obligation as effectual as any Consanguinity or Alliance ; and it was the Glory of the Nobility to have a great Number of *Clients*. *Patritians.*
Plebeians.
Patrons.
Clients.

Clients, and to treat 'em civilly. This *Patronage* had admirable Effects towards the firm Union of the People, for above 600 Years after, till *Caius Gracchus* broke the Peace of the City: And because the *Plebeians* in the City received such Advantage from this Constitution, in Imitation thereof, afterwards all *Colonies*, *Confederate* and *Conquer'd* Cities, had their *Patrons*, to whom frequently the *Senate* would remit such Controversies as were brought before 'em, and ratifie their Judgment.

After this, *Romulus* chose 100 Men out of the *Patritians*, to assist him in the Government. This Number he called a *Senate*, either from their Age or Virtue, or, *à finendo*, because nothing was transacted without their *Permission*. Such of the *Fathers* as he enroll'd or enter'd into this Venerable Assembly, he call'd *Patres Conscripti*, as *Dionysius* rightly observes; and, to make up this Number, he chose Three out of each *Tribe*, and as many out of each *Curia*; over all which he plac'd a particular Magistrate, to whom he committed the Government of the City when he was absent in the Wars; and this Magistrate was call'd *Præfectus Urbis*. After this, he immediately proceeded to settle the Authorities of *King*, *Senate* and *People*. The *King's* Office at home, was, To take care of the Religious Rites; to preserve the Laws and Customs; to decide the chief Causes between Man and Man, and refer the less Matters to the *Senate*, into which he had an Inspection; to call the *Senate*, assemble the *People*, first giving his own Opinion, then ratifying what was approv'd of by the major part. Abroad, and in the Wars, He had absolute Authority. The *Senate's* Office was, To debate and resolve about such things as the *King* propos'd, which were decreed by the Majority of Voices. To the *People* he committed three Things; To create *Magistrates*, make *Laws*, and resolve upon any *War* that was propos'd by the *King*; yet still in such a manner as the Authority of the *Senate* always interpos'd.

The

The next thing that *Romulus* did, was to take care of a Guard for his Person ; and therefore he order'd the *Curia* to chuse him out 300 lusty young Men, ten out of each ; and these were called *Celeres*, *à ce-* *Celeres.*
leritate, from their Activity and Readiness to assist the King upon all Occasions. They were commanded by a *Tribune* or Colonel, call'd *Tribunus Celerum*, *Tribunus*
three *Centurions*, and other Inferior Officers. This *Celerum.*
Company, with their Spears, defended the King in the City, and in Battels were the foremost Leaders, charging first, and retreating last. Besides these, he had for his Attendance, 12 *Lictors* or *Sergeants*, who *Lictors.*
punish'd Offenders, and executed his Commands ; these always going before him in Publick, with their Bundles of Rods, call'd *Fasces*, and their *Axes*, signifying different Punishments, according to Mens different Crimes. Thus *Romulus*, with all the Industry and Prudence imaginable, took care to settle the State, being very exact in Justice, and forbidding all sordid Arts and Trades, especially such as were subservient to Luxury, which being left wholly to Slaves and Strangers, the *Romans* for many Years scorn'd to be concern'd in 'em. This is the Form of the Common-wealth, as *Romulus* first establish'd it, which in general was so excellent, that it was admir'd by *Dionysius* above all the Constitutions, even of his own Country-men the *Grecians* ; and by its Healthfulness and robust Constitution, had all the manifest Signs of a thriving and long-liv'd State.

II. *Romulus*, finding he was encompass'd with several powerful Nations, who, with envious Eyes beheld the extraordinary Growth of this City, and observing how much it was fill'd by Fugitives, who had no Wives, he bethought himself of Means to contract Alliance with his Neighbours, and to procure Wives for his Subjects, which was his second Device to increase the City : Therefore by Advice of his Grand- U. C.
4.

Grand-father *Numitor*, and the Consent of the *Senate*, he proclaim'd a Solemn Feast and Publick Games, in Honour of *Neptune*, thro' all the Country thereabouts. This immediately occasion'd a great Concourse of all sorts of People, who came flocking in, with their Wives and Children, from several Neighbouring Places, to behold these pompous Shows, together with the new City. In the midst of this Solemnity, upon a Signal given, the *Romans*, with their drawn Swords, seiz'd on such Virgins as they cou'd most conveniently catch, and by main Force carry'd 'em to their Houses. The Number of these amounted to 683, for whom *Romulus* chose so many Husbands, and marry'd 'em after their own Country Rites, making 'em sign a Covenant or Agreement, with the Ceremonies of Fire and Water; which Custom continued among the *Romans* for many Ages.

This Act was highly resented by most of their Neighbours, especially the *Sabines*, who were principally concerned; but their Backwardness in their Preparations made the Cities *Cenina*, *Antenna*, and *Crustumium*, begin the War first. The two former (three or four Miles North of *Rome*, and inhabited by the *Aborigines*) *Romulus* soon subdu'd, with the Death of their King *Acron*, whom he slew in a single Combat; and afterwards the latter, a Colony of *Alba*, a little way within the Country of the *Sabines*. The Lands were divided between some of the *Romans*, and the old Inhabitants, of whom 3000 were made free of *Rome*, without losing their former Estates; so that the Foot-men of the City were now much increased. For this Victory *Romulus* first triumphed, and bringing home the Spoils of King *Acron*, which the *Romans* named *Opima Spolia*, or *Royal Spoils*, he designed a Spot of Ground upon Mount *Capitoline* for a Temple to *Jupiter Feretrius*, so called either *a ferendo* to bear, or rather from *ferire* to

Opima
Spolia.
Jupiter
Feretrius.

to strike; and this was the Place where the *Capitol* afterwards stood. The Valour of *Romulus* and his good Conduct in this War, together with his Clemency to the Conquer'd, had so great Effects, that not only many eminent Men went over to him with their Families, (amongst whom was *Calus*, who gave Name to a Hill in the City) but some whole Nations committed themselves to his Protection, and received Colonies from *Rome*.

This notable Success was a great Disappointment to the *Sabines*, who resolving to correct their former Carelessness by double Diligence, assembled themselves at *Cures* their *Metropolis*, proclaimed War against *Rome*, and made choice of *Tatius* their King for General. On the other side, *Romulus* made all possible Provision for Resistance, fortifying the *Capitoline* and *Aventine Hills*, and receiving Auxiliary-Troops both from *Hetruria* and his Grand-father *Numitor*. The *Sabines*, to have the fairer Pretence, first demanded Restitution of the Virgins, and to have the Authors of the Injury deliver'd up to them; but receiving no satisfactory Answer, both Armies drew out into the Field, the *Sabines* being 25000 Foot and 1000 Horse, and the *Romans* 20000 Foot and 800 Horse; a great number for a new-built City. *Tatius* encamped between the *Capitoline* and *Quirinal*, but found 'em too well fortified to be attack'd; but one *Tarpeia*, Daughter to *Tarpeius*, Governor of the *Capitoline*, called to his Men from above, and agreed to betray the Place into their Hands, which was in a short time effected. What she required of 'em, as a Reward for this, was what they wore on their left Arms, meaning their Bracelets; but they threw their Targets upon her, which they wore on their left Arms, and pressed her to death. From hence this Hill was called *Tarpeius*, till the building of the *Capitol*, which made it lose the Name, except that part of it which was called the *Tarpeian Rock*. from whence

U. C.
6.

whence they threw Malefactors down headlong.

The *Sabines*, now Masters of the *Capitoline*, had the Advantage of continuing the War at their pleasure; and for a long time only light Skirmishes past between both Parties, with little or no Advantage to either side: But the Tedioufness and Charge of the War so wearied out both *Romans* and *Sabines*, that they very much desir'd a Peace, but neither side would stoop to sue for it. Thus they continu'd for a very considerable time, till both resolving to do their utmost, they came to a general Battel, which was renew'd several Days with almost equal Success. In the last Contest, the *Romans* were much worsted in the beginning, and fled to the *Palatium*; but rallying and renewing the Fight with Success against the *Sabines*, the Women who were stolen and married to the *Romans*, and the Cause of this War, thro' the Persuasions of *Herfilia*, one of the principal among 'em, ran desperately into the midst of the Darts and dead Bodies, with their Children in their Arms, and their Hair about their Ears, making such lamentable Shrieks and Out-cries, that both Armies immediately desisted. These became Mediators, and made Peace between the Fathers and Sons-in-law, after the War had lasted six Years. The Articles were,

U. C. First, That *Romulus* and *Tatius* should reign jointly in
12. Rome, with equal Power and Prerogative: Secondly,
Quirites. That the City from *Romulus* should still be called Rome, but the Citizens *Quirites*, from *Cures* the native Place of *Tatius*: Thirdly, That now the two Nations should become one, and as many of the *Sabines* as were willing, should be made Free of Rome.

The City being now much increas'd by the number of the *Sabines*, Mount *Capitoline* was taken in, built upon, and laid out for their Habitation. *Romulus* chose out 100 of the most Noble of the *Sabines*, and added 'em to the *Senate*, so that it now consisted of 200 Persons. The *Legions* (so called *ab eligendo*, because

Legions.

because they were choice select Men) which before contain'd 3000 Men, were now increas'd also to 4000, whence a *Legion* was call'd *Quadrata*; yet afterwards a *Legion* compriz'd as many Men as was found convenient for the Service of the Commonwealth. Several new Feasts were instituted upon the Account of this Union, as *Matronalia*, *Carmen-tala*, &c. and a particular Respect was had to those Women who procured this happy Reconciliation, and several Privileges were allowed 'em, particularly they were exempted from all Work unless Spinning and making of Cloth. Now the Tribes were called by distinct Names; the first *Ramnenses*, from *Romulus*; the second *Tatienses*, from *Tatius*; and the third *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* or Grove where the *Asylum* stood. For five Years the two Kings reigned quietly and peaceably together; but in the sixth, *Tatius* protecting some of his Friends who had robb'd and plunder'd the *Lavinians*, and killing the Embassadors who were sent to demand Satisfaction, was slain by the *Lavinians* at his going to sacrifice there. *Romulus*, like a generous Prince, made Satisfaction to the injur'd Persons, and bury'd *Tatius* in *Rome* very honourably.

III. *Romulus*, once more sole Monarch of *Rome*, march'd against *Fidena*, and subdu'd it, a Town five Miles off *Rome*, that had seiz'd on Provisions coming thither in Time of Famine; and soon after, he took *Cameria*, an *Alban* Colony not far distant; into both which he sent a sufficient Number of *Romans* to inhabit 'em, according to his usual Custom. Then he punish'd the *Crustumini*, who had kill'd their Planters which he had plac'd among 'em; and over all these he obtain'd a second Triumph. The Action of *Romulus* against the *Fidenates* was extremely resented by the *Veientes* their Neighbours, who immediately by an Embassy requir'd the *Romans*

U. C.
18.

U. C.
21.

mans to withdraw their Garrison, and restore the Inhabitants to all their former Privileges. These *Veientes* were one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, a powerful People, inhabiting a strong City, and of extraordinary Largeness, situated upon a craggy Rock about 12 Miles North of *Rome*. Their Demands being rejected, they began their Acts of Hostility, and both Armies met at *Fidena*; where, after two sharp Engagements, *Romulus* became Conqueror. The *Veientes* were now forc'd to betake themselves to Intreaties, and so enter'd into a League with the *Romans* for 100 Years, upon these Articles; To quit a seventh Part of their Dominions, with their Salt-pits nigh the River, and to give up fifty Hostages of the most considerable Families. *Romulus* for this, triumph'd a third Time, leading with him their General, an aged Man, who had so badly perform'd his Duty, that he was afterwards personated by an old Man in all Triumphs.

This was the last War manag'd by *Romulus*, who after that employ'd most of his Time in settling the Government and placing it upon the surest Foundations. He made many good and profitable Laws, most of which were unwritten: Particularly he made One concerning Marriages, where the Authority of the Husband was so well and conveniently settled, that for 520 Years a Divorce was not known in *Rome*. He gave Fathers absolute Power over their Sons, to sell, imprison, scourge, or kill 'em, tho' in never so great an Office, and that as long as they liv'd. He appointed no Punishment for real *Parricide*, but call'd all Murder by that Name; thinking the latter a detestable Crime, but the other impossible: And indeed it was a Crime never known in *Rome* for 600 Years. For the Peoples way of living, he enjoin'd two Courses of Life, *Warfare* and *Hubandry*, equally dividing the Lands, Slaves, and Money, taken from the Enemy; he appointed a

Market

Market once in nine Days, which from thence was call'd *Nundina*. When any Town was taken, he suffer'd no Prisoner of Man's Age to be slain or sold, or their Lands left untill'd, but order'd a Colony from *Rome* to cultivate them, and some of the Strangers to be admitted to the Freedom and Privileges of the City; and this was his third Contrivance to encrease the City. As to Controversies that might arise upon any Injuries, he immediately decided 'em, or referr'd 'em to others, inflicting speedy Punishments according to the Nature of the Crime. Finding Publick Spectacles to have a great Influence upon the People, he set up his Judgment-Seat in the most conspicuous Place in the *Forum*, where his Guard of 300 *Celeres*, and his 12 *Lictors* with their Rods and Axes, in view of all the People, scourging or executing Malefactors, occasion'd an extraordinary Awe and Respect.

In the latter end of his Reign, whether swell'd with the Imagination of his former Successes and present Security, or carry'd away with some pleasing Notions of Arbitrary Government, he began to grow very Tyrannical, enlarging his Prerogative beyond those Bounds he had formerly set to it, and making use of the *Senate* only to ratify his Commands. Tho' he was extremely belov'd by the Common People, yet these Actions gain'd him the Hatred of the Nobility and Senate, and brought him to an untimely Death; he being torn in pieces, as is generally believ'd, in the Senate-House, the Senators carrying his Body out by piece-meal under their Gowns, to prevent Discovery. The Senators took an occasion, from the Secresy of the Fact, and the Concealment of the Body, to perswade the Multitude that he was taken up among the Gods; and *Julius Proculus*, one of the Chief of the Nobility, did almost put all out of doubt, by swearing solemnly, That *Romulus* appear'd to him, and told him, *It*

Quirinus.

was the Pleasure of the Immortal Gods to have him continue among Mankind, till he had founded a City whose Empire and Glory shou'd far surpass all others. He bad him farewell, and tell his Subjects, that by their strict Exercise of Temperance and Fortitude, no human Power shou'd e'er withstand the Roman Arms; and he wou'd always be a propitious God to 'em, under the Name of Quirinus. The Day in which he was said to be taken up, was kept after that as a great Holy-day; and a Temple was built in Honour of him on one of the seven Hills, from him call'd by the Name of *Quirinalis*.

He reign'd 37 Years, in which space he very much advanc'd the State of the City, leaving in it 46000 Foot and 1000 Horse; a happy Increase for so short a time. After his Grand-father *Numitor's* decease, the Kingdom of *Alba* fell to him, which he govern'd by Deputies; and the more to please that People, he allow'd 'em the Privileges of a Free-State, which probably occasion'd the Senate to bear his Encroachments the worse. So now the *Roman* Dominions consisted of a considerable Part of the *Sabines* Country, a small Part of *Hetruria*, and a mix'd Part of *Latium*.



C H A P. II.

From the Death of Romulus, to the Death of Numa Pompilius, the Second King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 44 Years.

U. C.
38.

I. **R**omulus being dead, or, as some are pleas'd to believe, taken up, the City was greatly divided about the Election of another King; but lest these Discords shou'd occasion Anarchy and Confusion in the Common-wealth, the Senate agreed to

to divide themselves into *Decuries* or *Tens*, and that *Decury* which was chosen by Lot, should exercise the Regal Authority for 50 Days, each Man governing in his turn five Days, the Authority then falling to another *Decury*; and this they call'd an *Inter-regnum*. *Inter-reg.*
 This Government continu'd a whole Year, till the People at last began to murmur, saying, *It was a Trick of some few, who intended to get the Power into their own hands, and that for one pretended Tyrant, they had now got 200 real ones*; therefore they resolv'd that a King should be chosen. In the Election great Contests arose between the *Romans* and *Sabines*, each believing it reasonable to have one of their own Country; till at length they came to this Conclusion, That the Party which elected shou'd chuse one out of the Body of the other, so by that means the elected Prince might be oblig'd to favour both Parties, one for their Votes, and the other for their Alliance. It falling to the *Romans* to chuse, the *Patrians* fix'd upon *Numa Pompilius*, a *Sabine*, a Person of about 40 Years of Age, who by the Consent of the People was elected King. *Numa* then resided at *Cures*, being a Person of the greatest Virtue, Knowledge, and Abilities of that time, and had withdrawn himself from the Noises and Troubles of the World; therefore *Ambassadors*, one a *Roman*, and the other a *Sabine*, were dispatch'd to him to offer him the *Kingdom*.

The *Ambassadors* finding him with his Father and Kinsman *Marcus*, by their Speakers, *Proculus* and *Valesius*, told him the Occasion of their coming: To whom the elected King made this philosophical and modest Answer: *Since every alteration of a Man's Life is generally hazardous in the Attempt, as well as dangerous in the Consequence, it wou'd be the highest Indiscretion for one, who, in his own Opinion, is sufficiently happy, to endeavour, or admit of any Change; tho' there were nothing more in it, than the preferring a turbulent and uncertain Life, before a constant Quiet and certain Security.*

For my part, Romans, I must freely tell you, That I am not only discourag'd, but even deterr'd from accepting your generous Offers, even by what is commonly reported of your famous Romulus, who was not only suspected of contriving Tatiush's Death, but was likewise suppos'd to fall himself by the Rage of the Senate. And if Romulus himself sprung, as they say, from Divine Race, miraculously preserv'd, and as miraculously brought up, labour'd under such vast Inconveniences; how successful can I hope to be, begotten by a mere Mortal, and brought up the ordinary way, when I come to struggle with such insuperable Difficulties? Besides, you much mistake your Person, as well as forget your Interest and Glory, when you think I can be any ways serviceable to you: For my Temper naturally leads me to Peace, to Books, and the Worship of the Gods; but you, Romans, require a vigorous and active King, who may diligently cherish that Warlike Humour which your late Success has excited: And therefore such a Prince as should come to inculcate Peace, Justice, and Religion into the Minds of a Martial Nation, must of necessity appear not only strange and ridiculous to the World, but also mean and despicable to his Subjects.

The Romans were much surpriz'd at this Answer, but still were very urgent with him to accept of the Kingdom; in which they were not a little assisted by his Father and Marcius, who return'd him this Reply: Tho' you remain contented with your present Fortune, and court neither Riches nor Power; yet you may reasonably imagine, that such large Talents of Justice, Moderation, and Piety, were never given you by the Gods to lie useless and conceal'd: And you are sensible these are Virtues that can never have a greater Influence upon Mankind, than when they so publickly appear in the Person of a King. Tatiush, tho' a Foreigner, was highly esteem'd by the Romans, and the Memory of Romulus was so precious to 'em, that after his Decease, they voted him divine Honours: And if the Affections of the People shou'd break out into a furious Desire of War, what can better manage
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the Reins of that Passion, than such a moderating Hand as yours? And who knows but that the People, being ever victorious, may be satiated with the Spoils and Trophies they have gain'd, and gladly entertain a mild and peaceful Prince, who being a Lover of Justice and Equity, may settle the City in a strong and insuperable Union, and in a sure and lasting Happiness? These Reasons and Persuasions, together with the Ambassador's Entreaties, at last prevail'd upon Numa to accept of the Kingdom; and after a solemn Sacrifice, he went for Rome. He was met by the Way by the Senate and People, who with a general Consent invested him with the Regal Authority; and so universal was the Joy, that they seem'd not so much to receive a King, as the Addition of a new Kingdom.

II. *Numa* being a Person of extraordinary Wisdom and Policy, as well as Devotion, thought it most convenient to raise and strengthen that City by wholesome Laws, and Religious Customs, which had been founded upon War and Bloodshed; judging it as necessary to employ a People well at home, as to exercise 'em abroad. The first thing he did was to disband the Royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, lest the Maintenance of such a Force might seem to argue a Diffidence of them that chose him, saying, *That he wou'd not rule over that People, of whom he conceiv'd the least Distrust.* Next, he built a Temple to *Janus*, which was always to stand open in time of *Janus.* War, and to be shut in time of Peace, as it continu'd all his Reign; which, as some observe, never hapned but four times from his Reign to that of *Tiberius Cæsar*. To the two *Flamens* or High-Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, he added a third of *Quirinus* or *Romulus*; and to this Prince also is ascrib'd the bringing in of the *Pontifices*, whereof he himself was one, and officiated accordingly. He also ordain'd the *Vestal* *Pontifices.* *vestal Vir-* Virgins, being four in number, to whom he gave *gins.*

Salii.
Feciales.

very great Privileges ; particularly, when they went abroad, they had the *Fasces* carry'd before 'em, and in their Walks, if they met with a Malefactor lead-in to Execution, they had the Power of freeing him from Death, upon Oath given that the Meeting was meerly accidental. He also instituted the Orders of the *Salii* and the *Feciales*, Priests devoted to *Mars*; the former were to carry those sacred Shields call'd *Ancilia*, and the latter to judge of the Equity of War, and proclaim it with much Ceremony.

This Prince, tho' naturally averse to all Wars, yet consider'd that Peace and Security might too much soften and degenerate the Minds of the Multitude ; therefore he us'd his utmost Endeavours to imprint on their Minds the Notions of Religion and Virtue, and the due Reverence of God : And to gain the more Credit and Obedience to his Constitutions, he pretended he had often and immediate Converse with the Goddess *Egeria*, and wou'd be often telling them that strange Visions and Apparitions were seen, and Prophetick Voices heard ; which Stories had great and remarkable Effects upon a People so superstitiously inclin'd. Yet his Religion was of a refin'd Nature, being much like that of *Pythagoras* afterwards ; and as he taught, *That the Principal of all Things was not to be perceiv'd by Sense, nor was liable to Motion, but was Invisible, Immortal, and to be apprehended by the Understanding alone* ; so *Numa* forbid the *Romans* to use the Image of any God which represented him under the Form of a Man, or any other living Creature : And this was strictly observ'd in all their Temples and sacred Places, for 170 Years at the least ; they holding it a great Crime to liken such superior Beings to Things so much below 'em.

For the Encouragement of *Agriculture*, he divided those Lands which *Romulus* had gain'd in War among the poorer sort, causing his Subjects to apply themselves to Husbandry, and by such kind of Employments

ments to cultivate their Minds as well as the Earth: Then he divided all the Lands into several Parcels, to which he gave the Name of *Pagi*. or Boroughs; *Pagus.* and over every one of these he ordain'd a Chief, or Arbitrator in Judicial Causes. And that he might take away all Distinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, which threaten'd the State with endless Factions and dangerous Divisions, he divided all the Inhabitants according to their several *Trades* and *Occupations*, making every Art a particular *Company* and *Society*, and appointing to every one their respective Courts and Privileges; and this was his Master-piece in Politicks. He much abated the Rigour of that Law made by *Romulus*, concerning the Power of Fathers over their Children, making it unlawful for 'em to sell their Sons after Marriage, because it was very unjust that a Woman who had marry'd a Free-man shou'd be constrain'd to live with a Slave. He also prescrib'd Rules concerning Mourning; a Child of 3 Years, and so upwards to 10, was to be mourn'd for so many Months as it was Years old; and the longest time of Mourning for any Person, was not to exceed the Term of 10 Months: Which also was the Time appointed for Widows, before which, they cou'd not, without great Indecency, marry again; but in case Circumstances were such as not to admit of so long a Term, they were first to sacrifice a Cow with a Calf for Expiation of their Fault.

One of the principal things done by this Prince was the Reformation of the Year, which, in *Romulus's* time was much out of Order, some Months having more than 35 Days, and some fewer than 20. *Numa* finding the *Solar* Year to exceed the *Lunar* by 11 Days, doubled these 11 Days, and every other Year inserted a Month after *February*, consisting of 22 Days, which was by the *Romans* call'd *Mercedonius*, because it was the usual time for paying *Mercedonius.* of Wages. He likewise chang'd the Order of the Months,

The
Months.

Months, making *January* and *February* the first and second Months, which were the two last in *Romulus's* Days. *January* had its Name from *Janus*, the most ancient God or King in *Italy*. *February* was so call'd from the *Expiations* which us'd to be in it, signify'd by the Word *Februa*. *March*, so call'd from *Mars*, the suppos'd Father of *Romulus*, which, upon that account, had been plac'd first. *April* from *Aphrodite* or *Venus*, because of the Superstitious Worship which was perform'd in it, when the Women were crown'd with Myrtle. *May*, so nam'd from *Maia*, the Mother of *Mercury*, to whom this Month was made Sacred. *June*, from *Juno*, or, as some will have it, from *Juventus*, because the Season is warm, and, as it were, *Juvenile*. The rest had their Names from their Order, as, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*; only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* were afterwards turn'd into *July* and *August*, by the Emperors *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus*.

Numa was marry'd to *Tatia*, King *Tatinus's* Daughter, by whom he had one Daughter named *Pompilia*; and after a Reign of 43 Years, being above 80 Years old, he dy'd, and was bury'd with great Honour and Solemnity. He forbid his Body to be burnt, as it was usual in those days, but was bury'd in a Stone Coffin, under the Hill *Faniculum*; and the Books of his Ceremonies were laid by him in another, being 12, written in *Latin*, and as many in *Greek*: These were taken up about 400 Years after; and because it was thought a piece of Impiety to communicate such Mysteries to the Multitude, were burnt by Order of the *Senate*. He kept the State in such a constant Peace, by his prudent Management, as did very much contribute to the Strength and Security of the City, and he much improv'd and polish'd the rough *Genius* of the *Roman* People.

C H A P



C H A P. III.

From the Death of Numa, to the Death of Tullus Hostilius, the Third King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 33 Years.

I. **U**PON the Death of *Numa*, the Government U. C.
 once more devolv'd upon the *Senate*, and af- 82.
 ter several *Interreges*, *Tullus Hostilius* was created King
 by the universal Consent of all People. He was Grand-
 son to the famous *Hostilius*, who, in *Romulus's* Days,
 had behav'd himself very valiantly against the *Sa-*
bines in the Citadel, and had marry'd the Daughter
 of *Herfilius*. He was of a bold and fiery Temper, and
 one who often fought and greedily embrac'd all Oc-
 casions of War; led to it partly by his own proper
 Inclination, and partly by the Glory and Renown
 of his Grand-father. As he thought the Love of his
 Subjects the most necessary thing to carry on the
 Designs of a Warlike Prince; so in the beginning of
 his Reign he purchas'd the good Opinion of the
 poorer sort, by dividing to them, Man by Man, that
 Portion of Land which his Predecessors, the two
 former Kings, had kept to bear their Charges, say-
 ing, *That his own Inheritance was sufficient for his own*
Expences. That none of these might want room, he en-
 larg'd the City, and took in the Hill *Calvus*, where
 he also had his Palace; and all such as had now got-
 ten Ground, and wanted Habitations, built upon
 it; so the City encreas'd in Bulk every day.

It was not long before this Prince had a fair Op- U. C.
 portunity of War offer'd him; for *Cluilius* Governor 84.
 or *Dictator* of *Alba*, envying the Growth of *Rome*,
 had procur'd some Person to rob and pillage in
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the Roman Territories, knowing they wou'd revenge the Injury; which, when they did, he perswaded the *Albans*, that they had receiv'd a great Affront, and caus'd 'em to take up Arms: But that there might be some Appearance of Reason, and for the greater Formality, Ambassadors were sent to *Rome* to demand Restitution. *Hostilius* presently perceiv'd the Design, and well knowing that they who first refus'd Satisfaction, would bear the greatest blame, by nobly treating the Ambassadors, cunningly delay'd giving Answer, till he could send to demand Restitution at *Alba*. His Ambassadors receiv'd a sharp Repulse from *Cluilius* at *Alba*, upon notice whereof, *Hostilius* gave Audience to the *Alban* Ambassadors, telling them, *How he had receiv'd such an Answer from Alba as argu'd the League broken*; whereupon he proclaim'd a just and necessary War against the *Albans*, which he would carry on to the utmost. Both Parties made all possible Preparations, and drew out their Forces about five Miles from *Rome*, to a Place afterwards call'd *Cluilius Ditch*; where, when they expected to have decided the Quarrel, *Cluilius* was found dead in his Tent, but whether by a natural or violent Death, is uncertain. In his Place was chosen *Metius Fuffetius*, a Person who had no other Qualifications to recommend him to his Office, besides his turbulent Spirit, and his being as great an Incendiary as his Predecessor.

At the same time the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who in *Romulus's* Days had submitted to the *Romans*, and in *Numa's* Reign were preparing and seeking for an Opportunity to shake off their Yoke, had now drawn their Forces together at *Fidenæ*, with design to fall upon both *Romans* and *Albans*, after they had weaken'd themselves in Battel. The News of these Preparations at first put the Armies to a stand, and made 'em both decline fighting for a while; till at last *Fuffetius* fearing these People, and *Hostilius* de-

firing

firing to punish 'em, came both to a sort of an Accommodation; agreeing, *That for the Safety of both Nations, the Quarrel should be decided by a Combat of three Persons on each side, and the Conquering Party should obtain the Pre-eminence and Command over the other.* These Proposals were no sooner ratify'd, but many valiant Persons, ambitious of the Honour of serving their Country, offer'd themselves to be the Combatants, but could not be accepted of, others being before agreed upon: For it happen'd that one *Sevinius* of *Alba* had formerly two Daughters, one marry'd to *Curatius* an *Alban*, and the other to *Horatius* a *Roman*, who being both with Child at the same time, were deliver'd of three Sons at a Birth. Now, to these two Ternions of Brothers were this great Combat committed, as being of equal Years, Strength, and Courage; and all Matters of Consanguinity and private Affections dispens'd withal.

Now was the Fate of *Rome* to be decided by six Persons only, which rais'd all Peoples Hopes and Fears to a more than ordinary pitch: The Lifts were prepar'd between the two Armies, Judges were appointed, and the Combat perform'd with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, and with as much Courage and Resolution on both sides. The *Curatii* were in a short time all wounded; but two of the *Horatii* were slain downright, and the third, unhurt, left to oppose three Adversaries. At this the *Albans* gave a great Shout; but he, not the least daunted, cunningly retreated as tho' he had wholly fled, and drawing them out severally, so as to have but one against him at once, he slew them all, and *Rome* became Conqueror. At his return to the City, his Sister met him with many provoking and reproachful Words, for imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his Cousin Germans, whereof one was contracted to her; upon which *Horatius*, elevated with the Honour of his Conquest, and transported with the
Love

Love of his Country, flew her upon the Spot. For which Fact, when he was accus'd, *Hostilius* avoided giving Judgment himself, but hereupon created those Officers call'd *Duumviri*, for Capital Punishments, and they condemn'd him : But there lying an Appeal from these Officers to the People, they gave him his Life at the Request of his Father, who esteem'd it as a great and heroick Act, and gave his Daughter ignominious Burial, for a dreadful Example to all who preferr'd private Respect before the Publick Good. *Hostilius* dealt very gently with the *Albans*, but, notwithstanding, for the Advantages gain'd over them, had a Triumph.

U. C. 85. II. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, finding that they were like to be call'd to an Account for their treacherous Practices, now broke into open Rebellion ; and *Fuffetius* enrag'd at the Event of the late Combat, and hoping to free himself from the Roman Power, privately encourag'd 'em with large Promises of Assistance if they stood in need of it. The *Romans* and *Albans* now made up one Army, and were advancing towards the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* ; but, upon their nigh approach, *Fuffetius*, who had laid all his Designs before-hand, drew off all the *Alban Troops* on one side, with a Resolution of joining with the prevailing Party. The *Romans*, apprehending the danger of their Separation, and fearing some Treachery, were greatly discourag'd at it ; but *Hostilius*, tho' satisfy'd of the Villany, immediately gave it out as publickly as he cou'd, That it was done by his Order, and was all a Stratagem to surprize the Enemy : At this unexpected Report the *Fidenates* and their Companions were quite dishearten'd, upon suspicion of their Friends Infidelity, and, in a short time, were put to the Rout by the *Romans* ; for which Victory *Hostilius* triumph'd a second time. After the Battel, *Fuffetius* join'd with the *Romans* again,

again, like one that had done nothing amiss; but *Hostilius*, assembling the whole Body of the *Albans*, and then laying before them all his treacherous Practices and villainous Designs, caus'd him to be torn in pieces by Horses; having before-hand sent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*, who utterly demolish'd that City, and transplanted the Inhabitants to *Rome*. Thus fell the City of *Alba*, once famous for its Riches and Number of Inhabitants, after it had flourish'd 487 Years.

Rome grew much in Strength, Riches and Grandeur out of the Ruins of *Alba*; Mount *Cælius* being appointed for the Inhabitants that came from thence, and the King allowing them all the *Roman* Privileges. He chose the Nobility of the *Albans* into the *Senate*, particularly the *Tullii*, *Servilii*, *Quintii*, *Gegani*, *Curatii*, and the *Cleli*; and that he might out of those new People make some Addition to the Strength of every Order, he chose ten Troops of Horse out of the *Albans*. In confidence of this his Strength, after an entire Reduction of the *Fidenates*, he declar'd War against the *Sabines*, who before had committed several Robberies upon the *Romans* that traded with 'em. He met 'em at the Wood call'd *Malitiosa Silva*, where, especially by the help of his Horse, who broke all their Ranks, after a short Engagement, he entirely defeated 'em, forcing 'em to beg Peace; over whom he obtain'd a third Triumph. The *Latines* were not yet quiet, refusing to pay Obedience to the *Romans*, which occasion'd several Contests; but this War was manag'd with great Moderation, no Battel being fought, no Town taken or plunder'd besides *Medallia*, which *Hostilius* punish'd for an Example, because it had received a *Roman* Colony in *Romulus's* time.

This War lasted most of the rest of his days, and in the latter end of his Reign, *Rome* was much infected with Plagues and Famines, and as much frighten'd

U. C.
88.

frighten'd with Prodigies. Then *Hostilius* began to think of bringing in the Religious Ceremonies of *Numa*, which he had all this Time took little notice of ; but soon after he died, after a Reign of 32 Years ; some say by Lightning, with his whole Family, tho' more probably by some treasonable Practices. In this Reign, the 300 *Celeres* were again re-assum'd, which had been diffus'd in the last ; and the City was very much increas'd, tho' the Dominions were little different from those in *Romulus's* Days, only they seem'd to have a surer Footing in some places than before.



C H A P. IV.

From the Death of Hostilius, to the Death of Ancus Marcius, the Fourth King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 24 Years.

U. C. I. **A**FTER the Death of *Tullus Hostilius*, the State
115. fell into an *Inter-regnum*, as formerly ; and in a short time, *Ancus Marcius* was made King by the *Inter-rex* and *Senate*, and was confirm'd so by the People. He had his Surname *Ancus* from his crooked Arm, which he could not stretch out in length, as *Festus* has it : He was Grandson to *Numa* the second King of *Rome*, by *Pompilia* his Daughter, and *Marcus* his Kinsman, who was the Son of that *Marcus* who had persuaded *Numa* to accept of the Kingdom, and after *Numa's* Death had kill'd himself because he did not succeed him. This Prince was much of the same Temper with his Grandfather *Numa* ; and considering that much of the Religion, and many of the Ceremonies had been neglected in the last Reign, he set himself to restore them

them to their former Use. For that Reason he insinuated to the People, that the Diseases, Pestilence, and other innumerable Calamities which had lately befallen the City, together with the disastrous End of *Hostilius*, proceeded from want of Devotion, and a Neglect of their Gods. He highly commended the Orders and Institutions of *Numa*, and would be often shewing the great Blessings of the State, and how much it flourish'd under that happy Reign; advising his Subjects to return to their Husbandry and more peaceable Employments, and to lay aside all sorts of Violence, and all Profit that arises from War and Bloodshed.

The State thus settl'd, he expected, as his Grand- U. C.
father had done, to pass his time free from all Wars 116.
and Troubles; but he soon found his Designs cross'd, and was compell'd to be a Warrior against his Will, and was scarce ever free from publick Perils and Troubles. He had scarce began his Reign, and modell'd the Common-wealth, when the *Latines* contemning him as a sluggish Prince, and unfit for Military Affairs, made Incursions into the *Roman Territories*. Upon which, he was oblig'd to make all necessary Preparations for a War, proclaiming it according to the *Ceremonies* appointed by his Grandfather *Numa*. First, an Ambassador was sent to the Frontiers of the Aggressor's Country, who in a Woollen Shash, and a peculiar Dress, and likewise in a solemn Form of Speech, demanded Satisfaction; which not being granted in 33 Days, after a Consultation with the *Senate*, the *Feciales* or *Heralds* were immediately sent in their proper Habits, with Javelins headed with Iron, or all bloody and burnt at the end; where in the presence of three young Men at least, they in the Name of the Gods and People of *Rome*, solemnly proclaim'd War with that Country, and then threw their Javelins into their Confines. This Custom was brought in by *Numa*,
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the Rules whereof were taken from the *Æquicoli*, a very ancient People.

Ancus began this War with good Success, and first took *Politorium* by Storm, a Town of the *Latines*, 14 or 15 Miles South East of *Rome*; the Inhabitants of which, according to the usual Custom, he transplanted to *Rome*, allowing them the Privileges of Free Citizens. And whereas the old *Romans* inhabited the *Palatine*, the *Sabines* the *Capitoline*, and the *Albans* the *Calian*, he granted the *Aventine* Hill for the *Latines* to possess; the number of whom were encreased, upon the subduing of *Tellene* and *Ficana*, two *Latine* Towns nigh *Politorium*, which he took soon after. He in a little time likewise took *Medallia*, a Place of considerable Strength, and also *Politorium* again; for the *Latines* finding it empty, had possess'd themselves of it, which made *Ancus* entirely demolish it. The *Latines*, inrag'd at their Losses, made greater Preparations for the next Campaign; but, at several times, he ruin'd their Designs, broke

U. C. 117. their united Forces, forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and obtain'd a Triumph over 'em. Not long after he subdu'd the *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and the *Volschi*, who had fallen out with him; and likewise such of the *Sabines*, who, not having felt the Strength of *Rome*, had sorely repin'd at the exceeding Growth of an upstart City. These latter he overthrew again, and

U. C. 120. obtained over them a second Triumph.

II. *Ancus* did not only perform many great Acts abroad, but also did many noble Works at home: First, upon the Account of the Success of his Arms, he rebuilt the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* after a more stately and magnificent manner than before. He fortified the Hill *Janiculum*, on the other side of the River *Tiber*, for the greater strengthening of the City, and to prevent its being a Refuge for Enemies, uniting it to the City with a Wooden Bridge over that

that River. He likewise made a large Ditch call'd *Fossa Quiritium*, which was no small Defence against such as came from the Plains. And now, the City having receiv'd a vast Increase, seeing that such Multitudes of People of all sorts cou'd not but produce many Criminals, he built a large Prison for Malefactors in the Heart of the City, just facing the *Forum*; to be a Terror to their growing Boldness. He did not only enlarge the *Pomarium* of the City, but likewise its Dominions; for having taken from the *Veientes* the *Masian* Forest, his Territories reach'd to the Sea; upon which, at the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, he built a Town call'd *Ostia*, nigh 10 Miles South of *Rome*, to secure the Advantages of Trade to his Subjects; for thither Commodities being brought by Ships, were in lesser Vessels convey'd up the *Tiber* to this City; and about this Town, many Salt-pits were made.

U. C.
127.

This Prince, as well as his Predecessors, was very ready and careful to encourage Strangers; and by reason of the frequent Advancement of such, and the great Privileges they receiv'd, many came daily hither, and often such as were of good Note. Among these, *Lucumon* an *Hetrurian* was one, a Person of great Accomplishments, as well as large Possessions, who came hither from *Tarquiniæ* in *Hetruria*, with his Wife *Tanaquil*, and several Followers. He was Son to *Damaratus*, a rich Merchant of *Corinth*, who had left his Country upon the Account of the Troubles at that time, and settled in *Tarquiniæ*, where marrying a noble Matron, he had this Son, besides another who died Childless. *Lucumon* finding no Incouragement in his own Country, being the Son of a Foreigner, remov'd to *Rome*, where by his Hospitality and Bounty he soon became known to the King; having now taken upon him the Name of *Lucius*, adding that of *Tarquinius* from the Place of his Birth. He was honourably treated by *Ancus*, to
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whom

whom he generously offer'd his whole Patrimony for the Publick Good, and by that means obtain'd Freedom for himself and Followers, with Lands both for Building and for Sustenance. *Ancus* in a little time chose him into the *Senate*, for he was greatly esteem'd by the King, and as much belov'd by the People; no Man being more hardy in War, or more prudent in Counsel.

Ancus bestow'd most of his latter time in enriching his Subjects, and improving the City, and at the end of 24 Years Reign he died; a Prince not inferior to any of his Predecessors, either for the Glory he gain'd in Peace or War. He left behind him two Sons, both under Age, which he committed to the Guardianship of the forementioned *Lucius Tarquinius*, as the fittest Person he cou'd employ in such an Office. The *Roman* Dominions were now encreas'd beyond what they were in the last Reign, by a larger Part of *Hetruria*, taken from the *Vuientes*, and a much better Footing in *Latium*.



C H A P. V.

*From the Death of Ancus Marcius, to the
Death of Tarquinius Priscus, the Fifth
King of Rome.*

Containing the Space of 38 Years.

- U. C. 138. I. *A*NCUS being dead, the *Senate* receiv'd Power from the People, to order the Affairs of the Commonwealth, and created certain *Inter-reges*, as formerly. In this short *Inter-regnum*, *Tarquin* was extremely busy about the Election of a King, having great Hopes of himself: Therefore to remove all Obstacles to his Designs, he sent *Ancus's* two Sons out a Hunting, the eldest being then nigh 14 Years of

of Age, and assembling the People, he made a plausible Speech to 'em, wherein he plainly begg'd the Kingdom, urging the Examples of *Tatius* and *Numa*; the first an Enemy as well as a Stranger, and the second wholly unacquainted with the City; whereas he himself was so great a Friend to the City, that he had spent all his Riches upon it; and so well acquainted with it, that he had been train'd up several Years both in Civil and Military Affairs, under their King. Then he cunningly insinuated his past Services, and insisting more than ordinary upon his Liberality, he obtain'd the Kingdom, being the first who obtain'd it by his own ambitious seeking. At the beginning of his Reign, the better to gain the Love of the Common People, he chose out 100 of the *Plebeians*, who for Valour or Wisdom were most Eminent, and added them to the Senate, which made up the Number 300; those of *Romulus's* Creation being call'd *Patres Conscripti*, these were call'd *Patres minorum Gentium*; that is, *Patres minorum Gentium*. Senators of a lower Rank. He likewise encreas'd the Number of *Vestal Virgins* from four to seven; but *Plutarch* says there were but two before.

His first War was with the *Latines*, from whom he took several Towns, among the rest *Collatia*, a Place five Miles North-East of *Rome*; over which he plac'd his Nephew *Aruns Tarquinius* for Governor, the Posthumous Issue of his Brother, surnam'd *Egerius*, from his want of Patrimony, and *Collatinus* from the Place, which Surname continu'd to his Posterity. Notwithstanding the *Latines* great Supplies from *Hetruria*, he soon forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and then turn'd his Arms against the *Sabines*, who had again risen up against *Rome*. Both Armies met upon the Banks of *Anio*, where the *Romans* made use of a Stratagem, by sending a Party of Men to burn a great heap of Wood that lay by the River-side, and to throw it in; which being driven forwards by the Wind, much of the flaming Wood got hold on

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139.

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the Wood of the Bridge, and set it on Fire. This not only terrify'd the *Sabines* while they were engaging, but when they were routed, hinder'd their Flight, their Bridge being burnt down; and therefore many of 'em, tho' they escap'd the Sword, perish'd in the Water; whose floating Arms being carried down the *Tiber* to *Rome*, discover'd the Victory there, almost before the News cou'd be carry'd. *Tarquin* proceeded to march into the *Sabine* Territories, where the *Sabines*, tho' with small Hopes, met him with an undisciplin'd Army; and being defeated a second time, they were forc'd to beg Peace. Over the *Sabines* *Tarquin* obtain'd his first Triumph.

U. C.
143.

Soon after the *Sabines* War was finish'd, all *Hetruria* (or rather the neighbouring Parts) combin'd against him, upon the Account of his detaining some Prisoners of theirs whom he had taken among the *Sabines*. They had made a Law among themselves, *That whatever Town refus'd to join against the Romans, shou'd not be accounted of their Body*; and they soon after possess'd themselves of *Fidenæ*, a Roman Colony. But he was so successful against 'em, as to overthrow 'em in several Battels, and upon his preparing for another Campaign, they were humbled, and to purchase Peace, they own'd him for their Prince; and, in Tokens of Allegiance, sent him all the Ensigns of Sovereignty which their Kings were usually adorn'd with: These were, a Crown of Gold, an Ivory Chair, a Scepter with an Eagle on the Top, a Purple Coat wrought with Gold, and a Purple Gown pink'd, almost like the Robes of the *Persian* and *Lydian* Kings, only it was not four-square, but of a semi-circular Figure. From hence also came the Robes and Coats us'd by the *Augurs* and *Heralds*, with many of their Ornaments us'd in *Rome* afterwards; the *Axes* they had before, tho' now they receiv'd 'em again. Over these People *Tarquin* triumph'd a second time. This War finish'd, which

U. C.
153.

continu'd nine Years, he fell a second Time upon the *Sabines*, who now alone contended with the *Romans* for Superiority, over whom he obtain'd a third Triumph; and providing for another Expedition, they yielded, whom he receiv'd on the same Terms with the *Hetrurians*.

II. *Tarquin* was no less mindful of strengthening the City at home, than of enlarging his Dominions abroad; for when he found leisure, he built the Walls of the City, which before were patch'd up in haste, with large square Stones, each consisting of a Load Weight. Then he took care of the other Publick Buildings of the City, adorning the *Forum* with lofty *Portico's*, *Galleries*, and *Shops*, being a Prince much delighted with stately Buildings and noble Sights. He likewise made many *Cloacæ* or *Cloacæ*. *Common-Sewers*, to drain the City, and carry the Filth of it into the *Tiber*; a Work of such vast Charge and Labour, that when they were afterwards stopp'd, the *Censors* spent 1000 Talents only to clear 'em; a Work likewise so admirable, that *Dionysius* thinks, that from the Magnificence of these as well as their *Aqueducts* and *Highways*, the Grandeur of the *Roman Empire* appear'd. In the *Circus Maximus*, that vast Place for Games and Exercises, between the *Palatine* and *Aventine Hills*, he caus'd Seats to be rais'd for the Spectators, with great Skill and Charge; and likewise distinguish'd all their Places according to their several Ranks and Dignities. In the *Sabine War* he vow'd a Temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, if he got the Victory; for that reason afterwards he, with wonderful Cost, levell'd the Rock on the *Capitoline*, and form'd a Plat for building it, but liv'd not to go on with it any further; and this was the beginning of the *Capitol*.

Tarquin had design'd after these things, to have added three Centuries of the *Celeries*, to those three

instituted by *Romulus*, but was forbidden by *Actius Nævius* to alter the Constitutions of that King; therefore without creating of new *Centuries*, he doubled the Number of the former. This *Nævius* was the most famous *Augur* that *Rome* ever knew; and *Tarquin* one time, to try him, ask'd him, *If what he had in his Thought might be done*; he answering in the Affirmative, *Tarquin* jeeringly told him, *He thought of cutting a Whetstone with a Razor*; *Nævius* bad him strike hard, and he cut it through. This much enhanc'd the Reputation of *Augury*, especially of *Nævius's* Skill therein; but his being suddenly miss'd soon after, was a great Prejudice to *Tarquin*: For the two Sons of *Ancus Marcius* grudging him their Father's Throne, accus'd him to the People of the Death of this *Augur*; but his Son-in-law answer'd their Objections, and clear'd him of that Scandal. Missing their Design, they pretended Repentance, and were easily receiv'd into Favour: But three Years after, they disguis'd several of their Companions like Shepherds, and appearing in Court, pretended a Quarrel, and demanded Justice of the King. *Tarquin* appearing, they set upon him, and kill'd him; but were soon caught, and receiv'd their just Reward.

Thus fell *Lucius Tarquinius*, for distinction surnam'd *Priscus*, after the last *Tarquin* had obtain'd the Kingdom, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, after he had reign'd 38 Years, and done many and great Services to the Common-wealth. The *Roman* Greatness and Magnificence began to appear much more in this Reign, than in the former; and this King was the first that ever triumph'd in a Chariot: Likewise the *Roman* Dominions were much increas'd in this Reign, by a larger Authority in the *Sabines* Country, and by some considerable Additions in *Hebruria* and *Latium*.



C H A P. VI.

From the Death of Tarquinius Priscus, to the Death of Servius Tullius, the Sixth King of Rome.

Containing the Space of 44 Years.

I. **T***arquinius Priscus*, being dead, *Servius Tullius* his Son-in-law succeeded him; which *Tullius* was Son to *Ocrisia*, a considerable Woman, taken Prisoner by *Tarquin* at *Corniculum*, a Town in *Latium*, and given to his Wife *Tanaquil*; where she was deliver'd of *Tullius*, surnamed *Servius*, in remembrance of her Bondage, her Husband being slain at the taking of the Town. *Tullius* being an Infant in his Cradle, a Flame of Fire is said to have appear'd and encompass'd his Head; which rais'd great Expectations in *Tanaquil*, a Woman much esteem'd for such kind of Knowledge. She brought her Husband to so good an Opinion of him, that he both gave him Education, and in time made him his Son-in-law. When the King grew old, he manag'd his publick Affairs for him both abroad and at home, with that Valour, Prudence, and Integrity, that he gain'd the highest Esteem of all People. *Tarquinius* having no Sons, but only two Grand-sons, both Infants, *Tanaquil* much desir'd that *Tullius* shou'd succeed him, therefore she kept his Death private for a while, pretending he was only dangerously wounded, till *Tullius* had prevail'd with the People to banish the *Marcii*. Being thus secure of that Faction, he carry'd out *Tarquin*, as newly dead, to be bury'd; and as Tutor or Guardian to the young Children, executed the Office of King; which *Tanaquil*, out of the Window, had told the People was her Husband's Will, when she feign'd him still alive.

U. C.
176.

alive. The *Patritians* were much concern'd at this, not knowing how to come to an Election, since they perceiv'd the People wou'd not approve of their Choice, but wou'd be all for *Tullius*; so they thought it better to let him reign in an unlawful manner, that they might ever have a just Pretence against him, than by stirring to procure him a legal Title.

Tullius discovering all their Designs and Practices, immediately assembled the People in the *Forum*; where appearing with his Mother, Mother-in-law, the two Children, and all his Kindred, in deep Mourning, and all the utmost Signs of Sorrow, he shew'd the People how sad and lamentable his Condition was, thro' the Contrivances of the *Patritians* against him, which he had no otherwise deserv'd, than by his good Services to his Country. That they had design'd to recal the *Maocii*, who had treasonably murder'd *Tarquin*, and to expose the Posterity of him whose Memory ought to be so precious to 'em, as well as himself, to the same Cruelty: But if it was the Pleasure of the People, he wou'd freely give up all Pretentions; and, rather than offend them, undergo the severest Hardships. A great Clamour immediately arose, mix'd with the Prayers and Tears of those who besought him to retain the Government; and some, who were provided beforehand, began to cry out, *He was to be chosen King, and the Curia were to be call'd to the Vote*; which thing was instantly resolv'd by the Multitude. He thank'd 'em very heartily for being mindful of the Benefits receiv'd from him, and promised to pay their Debts, and divide the publick Lands among such as wanted, if they would elect him King; and thereupon he appointed a Day for the Assembly. At the *Comitia Curiata* he was chosen King by the Votes of 'em all, in spite of all the Opposition of the Senate, who refus'd at last to confirm the Choice as their Custom was.

II. Not long after his Settlement, according to his Promise, he divided the Publick lands among the poorer sort; and in the *Curiata Comitia* preferr'd fifty several Laws concerning Contracts and Injuries. He very much enlarg'd the City, taking in three Hills to the four former, namely, the *Quirinal*, the *Viminal*, and the *Esquiline*; on the latter of which he dwelt himself, and compass'd the whole Seven with a stately Wall: Some say the Walls were never extended further, tho' vast Suburbs were afterwards added. After this, he divided the City into four Parts; and instead of three, made four *Tribes*, which he call'd by the Names of *Palatina*, *Suburana*, *Collina*, and *Esquilina*. As *Romulus*, according to their Seats and Communion in Sacrifices, distinguish'd the People into *Tribes* and *Curiae*; so *Tullius*, according to their Estates and Riches, distinguish'd 'em into six *Ranks* call'd *Classes*. His principal Design was to know how many were fit to bear Arms, and what Treasure might be supply'd for Wars and other Uses. These *Classes* were each divided into *Centuries* (the Word here signifying such a particular Division, and not 100 Persons) which made up 193 in all. The first consisted of such as were worth 110000 *Asses* (each answering to ob. q. of our Money) and contain'd 98 *Centuries*, the *Equites* or *Knights* being reckon'd in: The second valu'd at 75000 *Asses*, containing 22 *Centuries*, taking in *Artificers*; the third at 50000 *Asses*, containing likewise 22 *Centuries*; the fourth at 25000 *Asses*, containing 20 *Centuries*; the fifth at 11000 *Asses*, containing 30 *Centuries*; and the sixth consisted of the rest of the poorer Sort and Multitude, excepting Servants and Slaves, which made up but one *Century*.

The constant Way of levying Men and Money, was, for the future, according to these *Centuries*, each *Century* such a quantity; so that the middle Rank having

U. C.
177.

Classes.

Centuries.

Census.

having fewer *Centuries*, and yet more Persons than the richer, went to Wars by turns, and paid but little Tribute; and the poorer sort scarce bore any Share at all. This seem'd very just to him, that they who were most concern'd should take most Pains, and bear the greatest Charge; the *Romans* at that time maintaining themselves in the Wars without any Pay from the Publick. But to the richer sort, who sustain'd most of the Charge and Danger, the King made a sufficient Recompence, by giving 'em much the larger Authority in the Government, which he politickly brought about this way: Formerly the Matters of the greatest Concern, namely, *The Creation of all Magistrates, making or repealing of Laws, and decreeing of Peace and War*, were all voted in the *Comitia Curiata*; where every particular and private Person having an equal Vote, the *Plebeians* being most numerous, had in a manner the whole Power in their Hands. But *Tullius*, upon these and the like occasions, assembled the People according to their *Centuries*, which were call'd *Comitia Centuriata*, where the *Plebeians* must of necessity be out-voted; having little more than the Shadow of Authority, which they, for many years, were sufficiently satisfy'd withal; either for that they perceiv'd not the Design, or rather, because they were thereby freed from the greatest Part of the Charges, Troubles, and Danger of the Publick.

*Comitia
Centuriata.*

Lustrum.
U. C
187.

After the *Census*, or Tax, *Tullius* first instituted the *Lustrum* to be celebrated, so call'd *à luendo*, from paying. On a certain Day, after the *Valuation* or *Census*, he ordain'd all the Citizens to meet in the *Campus Martius*, all in Armour, each Man in his proper *Class* and *Century*; where, by solemn Sacrifices, the City was expiated or *lustrated*. This great Solemnity was call'd *Salutaurilia*, or rather *Suovetaurilia*, because a Hog, a Sheep, and an Ox were there sacrific'd. These things perform'd, the *Lustrum* was finish'd, which,

which, because of the continual Change of Men's Estates, he order'd shou'd be reiterated every five Years; so that the old and proper *Lustrum* contain'd five Years compleat, which was as often as this *Tax of Valuation*, call'd *Census*, was made; tho' afterwards the *Julian Lustrum* contain'd but four. *Tullius* held the *Lustrum* four times in his Reign, and at the first were found 84700 Free Citizens; but, to encrease their Number, he brought in the Custom of making Slaves free of the Common-wealth, either for their Money or their Deserts, who being *Manumitted*, he distributed into the four *Tribes* of the City. *Slaves*, as was hinted before, had never any Vote in the Government, and these were either made, or born so; the former sort were taken in War, thence properly call'd *Mancipia*; and the latter sort came of Parents, who were such, or of the Mother only. *Mancipia.*

Besides the Division of the City itself, this Prince took an extraordinary Care about the *Roman Dominions*, dividing the whole Territory into 26 Parts, which he likewise call'd by the Names of *Tribes*; and these he again distinguish'd into their several *Pagi*, appointed for 'em their respective Officers and Places of Worship, as *Numa* had done when the Dominions were much smaller. In his way of judging of Controversies, he gave away much of the Kingly Prerogative; for whereas the former Princes call'd before themselves all Controversies, and took Cognizance of Crimes committed against private Persons, as well as the publick, he separated their Causes, making himself Judge only of such as respected the Common-wealth, referring the Quarrels of particular Persons to others, to whom he prescrib'd Laws and Rules to go by; and if any Controversy arose between particular Towns, it was to be decided by the Judgment of others. After he had thus order'd the Common-wealth, he caus'd the *Latines* to build a Temple to *Diana*, upon the *Aventine Hill*, at which

Pecunia.

which Place they should meet and feast every Year, and so preserve themselves as one Body Politick in Unity and Concord. To all these things we may add, that he was the first who coin'd Money in *Rome*, stamping it with the Image of a Sheep, whence it had the Name of *Pecunia*, whereas the *Romans* before this time us'd it in a rude *Lump* or *Mass*.

III. At the same time that *Tullius* was settling and ordering the Affairs of the Common-wealth at home, he was often employ'd in many and considerable Wars abroad: For the *Hetrurians* looking upon him as an obscure Man, and a private Person, refus'd to pay him Obedience, and renounc'd the League made with his Predecessor *Tarquin*. He had Wars with 'em for 20 Years successively, overthrew 'em in many Battels, and triumph'd over 'em three several times; the first time in the Year 182, the second in 186, and the third time in 188. And at last he so weaken'd and harra's'd them, that they were willing to beg Peace of him, which he granted 'em upon the same Terms that *Tarquin* before had impos'd upon 'em; only from three of the twelve Nations, namely, the *Veintes*, the *Cæretanes*, and the *Tarquini*, which had been Principals in the Revolt, he took part of their Lands, and divided 'em among such as were lately made free of *Rome*. At the finishing of these Wars, he built two Temples, both dedicated to *Fortune*, one to *Fortuna Bona*, and the other to *Fortuna Virilis*. In the latter end of his Reign he design'd to have laid down his Office, and restor'd absolute Liberty, with the Care of the Common-wealth to the People, and was preparing a Model for that purpose, but liv'd not to perform it; for being old, and not far from the natural Period of his Life, he was slain by his Daughter and Son-in-law, after this manner.

Tullius had two Daughters, whom he marry'd to
Tar-

Tarquin's Grandsons, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns Tarquinius*. The first of a proud *tyrannical* Nature, had a very modest good Wife; and the last, of a mild sweet Temper, had a haughty wicked Woman. *Lucius* inrag'd at *Tullius* for possessing his Grandfather's Throne, and finding his Brother's Wife of a fiery Temper, and rather more cruel than himself, agreed with her to change Husbands; both promising to dispatch their Consorts, which they soon affected, and were marry'd together. After this, they resolv'd the utter Ruine of the King, raising what Factions they cou'd against him, alledging his illegal Title, then claim'd the Crown as Heirs to *Tarquin*. But *Tullius* by his great Modesty and prudent Management, defeated all their Designs, and came off with great Honour, both with the *Senate* and the People; which brought *Lucius* to a feign'd Repentance on his side, and that produc'd a real Reconciliation on the King's. *Lucius*, cover'd with this Disguise, took an Opportunity one Day, when most of the People were out of the City, to go to the *Senate-house*, with the Robes and Royal Ensigns, as King; and getting together such of the Fathers as were his special Friends, he boldly took Possession of the King's Throne. *Tullius* unadvisedly with a few Followers hasten'd thither, and going to thrust him out, *Lucius* threw him down the Stairs. The old Man, hardly recovering his Spirits, was led homewards in great Disorder, when *Tullius's* Wife coming to see the Event, saluted her Husband King, and advis'd him to send after *Tullius*, and dispatch him; which was immediately perform'd. In her Passage home, coming to the place where the Body lay, weltring in Blood, and as yet almost gasping, her Charioteer stood still, startl'd and amaz'd at the inhumane Spectacle, not having room to pass by it: Whereupon she in a Rage threw her Footstool at his Head, and in a barbarous manner forc'd him to drive her over.

over it; the Place which before was call'd *Cyprius Vicus*, was after this Act call'd *Sceleratus*.

This was the End of *Servius Tullius*, a Prince of eminent Justice and Moderation, after a prosperous Reign of 44 Years; but the less pity'd upon the account of his undue Admission to the Crown, which made most of the *Patritians* espouse his Successor's Part; especially, since he was about altering the Government, which wou'd have prov'd the Weakning, if not the Ruine of their Authority. He left the *Roman Dominions* in much the same Condition as they were in the last Reign, only he got a larger Footing in *Hetruria*.



C H A P. VII.

From the Death of Servius Tullius, to the Banishment of Tarquinius Superbus, the Seventh King of Rome, which caus'd the Dissolution of the Regal State.

Containing the Space of 25 Years.

U. C.
220.

I. **L**ucius Tarquinius having barbarously murder'd his Father-in-law, obtain'd the Kingdom by meer Force and Violence; and by his Tyrannical and Imperious Carriage, soon got the Surname of *Superbus*, as that of *Priscus*, for distinction sake, was given to his Grand-father. He wou'd not permit the King's Body to be publicly interr'd, lest the People shou'd rise and cause some dangerous Disturbances, he alledging, *That Romulus dy'd without Burial*. He murder'd such as he suspected to be of *Tullius's* Faction; and fearing the natural Consequences of his Tyranny, he kept a stronger Guard than ordinary about his Person. All Controversies whatsoever he decided himself, assisted by his intimate Friends,
and

and executed; banish'd, and fin'd all at his own Pleasure. He endeavour'd to establish his Tyranny with the more Security, by great Ailliances, marrying his Daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, the greatest Man among the *Latines*, being descended from *Telegonus* the Son of *Ulysses* by *Circe*; and by his false Accusations, and a cunning Device, caus'd 'em to stone *Turnus Hadenius*, who had discover'd to 'em his Baseness and Villany. He neither consider'd the Consent of the *Senate* or *People*; but much diminish'd the Authority of the former, by the Murder of many of the higher Rank, whose Wealth he seiz'd on for his own Use, resolving to chuse no more in their Places, that their Power might decrease insensibly, and in time be worn out.

Among those whom he murder'd for their Estates, *Marcus Junius* was one; a most eminent Man among the *Romans*, descended from the Companions of *Æneas*, and marry'd to *Tarquina*, Daughter to *Tarquinius Priscus*, by whom he had *Lucius Junius*. This *Lucius* was nobly educated, and had an admirable Wit and Knowledge, with a profound Judgment and Understanding; but after *Tarquin* had privily murder'd his Father and his eldest Brother, the better to save himself, and revenge his Father, he counterfeited himself a Fool, and thence had the Surname of *Brutus*. *Tarquin* thinking his Folly real, despis'd the Man; and having possess'd himself of his Estate, kept him as an Ideot in his House, suffering him to converse with his Children, not out of any respect as a Kinsman, but to make 'em Sport by his ridiculous Words and Actions. It happen'd in the time of a great Pestilence, he sent his two Sons, *Sextus* and *Titus*, to consult the Oracle, and with them *Brutus*, as a Companion for their Diversion. The Sons were well pleas'd with his Company, and laugh'd very heartily to see him offer a wooden Staff to *Apollo*, wherein he had secretly convey'd Gold.

Gold. The young Men having executed their Father's Commands, enquir'd of the Oracle, *Which of them shou'd be Prince of Rome?* It was answer'd, *He who first shou'd kiss his Mother*; which the Sons misunderstanding, agreed to do it both at their return, and reign jointly together. But *Brutus*, knowing the meaning of the Oracle, as soon as they arrived at *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance, and kiss'd the Earth, which is the common Mother of all Men. After this, he ever made it his Business to find Opportunities of ruining the Tyrant, and restoring the Liberties of *Rome*; all which he carry'd on by a profound Secrecy, and a wonderful Diffimulation.

- U. C. II. *Tarquin* being a warlike Prince, first march'd
223. against the *Sabines*, who refus'd to pay him Obedience, and soon reduc'd them to Submission; over whom he obtain'd a Triumph. Soon after, he began a War with the *Volsci*, a People bordering on *Latium*, which continu'd with some little Intermissions above 200 Years: From these he took *Suessa-Pometia*, a considerable City about 26 Miles South-East of *Rome*, where he found great Spoils and Plunder; and over them he obtain'd a second Triumph.
- U. C. Next, he fell upon *Gabii*, a City of great Note, 10
225. or 11 Miles East of *Rome*, which had taken part with *Suessa-Pometia*: He invested it, but meeting with great Difficulties, he caus'd his eldest Son *Sextus* to counterfeit Desertion, upon pretence of barbarous Usage from his Father; who being honourably receiv'd by the *Gabines*, by his cunning and insinuating Behaviour, got to be their Governor. After some time he sent to his Father to know what Measures to take; *Tarquin* took the Messenger into the Garden, and, in Imitation of *Thrasylulus* the *Milesian*, cut down the tallest Poppies before his Face, then dismiss'd him without any other Answer. *Sextus*, knowing the meaning of all that, put to death
the

the most principal Citizens, and easily betray'd the Place into his Father's Hands. After this, *Tarquin* made a League with the *Æqui*, a neighbouring People between the *Volsci* and the *Sabines*, and renew'd that with the *Ætrurians*. U. C. 232.

Tarquin having gain'd great Riches and Spoils from *Suessa-Pometia*, resolv'd to set about the Temple his Grandfather had design'd ; and when he found some Respite from War, he employ'd a great number of Workmen about it. At their digging to lay the Foundation, a Man's Head was found bleeding afresh, belonging to one *Tolus*, which gave the Name of *CAPITOL* to the Building. It was seated upon a high Crag or Rock on Mount *Capitoline*, which from *Romulus's* Time had been call'd *Mons Tarpeius*, and before that *Saturnius*. It was eight Acres in compass, 200 Foot long, and as many broad, wanting 15 Foot, its height being equal to its length ; a most magnificent Building, dedicated to *Jupiter*, in Chief, but containing three Temples within the same Walls, the middle belonging to *Jupiter*, and the other two to *Juno* and *Minerva*, all under the same Roof. It had a noble Front, looking towards the *South*, to the grand *Forum*, the most frequented Part of the whole City. It had also a stately Porch or Gallery, with three Rows of Pillars, each side having a double Row ; and to this they ascended by 100 Steps, with large Spaces between several of 'em. To carry on this great Work, *Tarquin* employ'd much of the publick Money and Stock, and likewise the Labour of the common People ; but the Building was not finish'd till two Years after his Banishment. U. C. 240.

The Building of the *Capitol* was not only counted a great Ornament to the City, in respect of Magnificence, but was likewise look'd upon as a very great Blessing upon the account of Religion : And in the same Reign another, as great in their Opinion, hapned likewise to the *Romans*, which was this: A cer-

Sybil's
Book.

tain strange Woman came to the King, offering to sell him nine Books of the *Sybilline* Oracles. He refusing to buy 'em at her Rate, she departed, and burning three of 'em, return'd, demanding as much for the six remaining. Being laugh'd at for a Mad-woman, she again departed, and burning half of 'em, return'd with the other three, still asking as much as at first. *Tarquin*, surpriz'd at the Strangeness of the Thing, immediately sent for the *Augurs* to know her Meaning; who much blam'd him for not buying the Nine, and advis'd him to buy the Three at the same rate. The Woman, after the Sale and Delivery, advising him to have a special Care of 'em, vanish'd, and was never after seen, as *Dionysius* relates the Story. *Tarquin* chose two Men out of the Nobility to keep them, to whom he allow'd two publick Servants; but afterwards, in the Time of the Common-wealth, they were kept with the greatest Care imaginable, 15 of the most eminent Persons of the Nobility being chosen and appointed to keep 'em in a Stone-Chest, in a Vault under the *Capitol*; and these were exempted from all other Burthens, both Military and Civil; and for them only it was lawful to look in 'em. These Magistrates, from their Number, were afterwards call'd *Quindecemviri*. These Oracles were consulted by the *Senate's* Decrees in Times of Seditions, Plagues, and any publick Calamities; and were kept here till they perish'd in the Burning of the *Capitol*.

Quindecemviri.

U. C.
244.

III. The People being so much employ'd for four Years together about the Building of the *Capitol*, began to make some Complaints; but *Tarquin*, to satisfie 'em, but especially to recruit his own Coffers, proclaim'd War against the *Rutuli*, a People joining to the *Latines*, the *Volsci*, and the *Sea*, pretending they had receiv'd and entertain'd some *Roman* Exiles; and upon that account he invest'd *Ardea*, their Metropolis,

ropolis, a City 16 Miles South-East of Rome. While he lay before this Place, his Son *Sextus*, with *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the Son of *Egerius*, *Priscus*'s Nephew, and some of the principal Courtiers, were drinking together in the Camp, where there hapned a Discourse concerning their Wives, each Man praising his own to a very high degree, which occasion'd a kind of a Quarrel. *Collatinus* told 'em, *It was in vain to talk, when their Eyes might so soon convince 'em how much his Lucretia excell'd the rest, if they wou'd but immediately put it to a Tryal*; whereat they all cry'd, *Come on*: And being well heated with Wine, they took horse without delay, and posted for Rome, from which Place they rod to *Collatia* to see *Lucretia*, where coming late at Night they found her, not like the rest of their Wives, spending her Time in Ease and Idleness, but in the midst of her Maids hard at Work. Her Goodness and Modesty, as well as her Shape and Beauty, so charm'd 'em all, that they unanimously gave her the Preference. Here *Collatinus* made a noble Entertainment for his Guests, and the next Day return'd with 'em to the Camp.

Sextus, now inflam'd by *Lucretia*'s Beauty, and the more by the Reputation of her fam'd Chastity, was resolv'd to enjoy her upon any Terms; therefore, within few Days after, he went privately with one Servant to *Collatia*, where he was kindly entertain'd by her, and, without any Suspicion, lodg'd in the House. At Midnight he found means to convey himself into her Bed-Chamber, approached her Bed-side with his drawn Sword, and rudely laying his Hand on her Breast, threatned her with present Death, if she offer'd to stir or speak. The poor Lady affrighted out of her Sleep, and seeing Death so nigh, was in the greatest Confusion imaginable; but *Sextus* at first, with all the Prayers and Intreaties, told her the Violence of his Passion, withal, endeavour'd to corrupt her with the glittering Promises

of Empire and a Crown ; but all in vain. At last he told her, *If she wou'd not yield, he wou'd first kill her, then lay his own Slave dead by her side, and report it was for surprizing her in Adultery with him ; by which means he obtain'd his End, and in the Morning he departed. Lucretia, inrag'd at this barbarous Usage, immediately sent for her Father from Rome, and her Husband from the Camp ; desiring them to bring with them some particular and special Friends, for a most dreadful Mischief, and that of the vastest Importance, had befall'n her. With her Father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, and with her Husband Lucius, Junius Brutus formerly mention'd ; who finding her in her Chamber, in a most lamentable and desperate Condition, she told 'em the whole Matter, and rejecting all Thoughts of Comfort, she most solemnly abjur'd 'em all, with the most powerful Persuasion imaginable, to revenge her Cause to the utmost, and immediately with her Knife, stabb'd her self to the Heart, as the truest Instance she cou'd give of her real Chastity.*

The whole Company were stricken with a Mixture of Sadness and Amazement at the Greatness as well as the Strangeness of the Act ; but while they were lamenting over the dead Body, Brutus catching at this Opportunity, now threw off his long Disguise, giving them to understand, *how far different he was from the Person they always took him for ; and further shew'd 'em most manifest Tokens of the Greatness of his Spirit, and the Depth of his Policy. He told 'em, That Tears and Lamentations cou'd never be heard, whilst Vengeance cry'd so loud ; thereupon, in a great Rage, going to the Body, and drawing the bloody Knife from out the Wound, swore by Mars, and all the Celestial Powers above, Utterly to exterminate Tarquin with his impious Wife and Progeny, to prosecute them and all their Friends with the utmost Rage of Fire and Sword, and never after to suffer*
the

the Tarquins or any other to reign in Rome. Then he deliver'd the Knife to the rest, who, all wondering at so extraordinary a Change in *Brutus*, swore as he had done; and turning their effeminate Sorrow to a masculine Fury, they resolv'd to follow his Instructions, and extirpate Kingly Government. *Brutus*, as soon as he cou'd, procur'd the Gates of the City to be shut, that all might be kept secret from *Tarquin*, till such time as the People might be assembled, the dead Body expos'd, and a Publick Decree for *Tarquin's* Banishment procur'd.

The *Senate* being assembled, all shew'd their Willingness to banish *Tarquin*, but at first had very different Opinions concerning the new-modelling of the Government, which probably might make it a tedious Business. *Brutus* represented to 'em the absolute necessity of a quick Dispatch, and immediately prescrib'd 'em a Form of Government; shewing them, *That before Tarquin's violating his own and his Predecessors Oath, Rome had been happy and famous, both for her Acts abroad, and her Constitutions at home; and that the Regal Power had at last been dangerous, and almost destructive to the Security of the State, and the Safety of the People; and therefore was not to be trusted in one Man's Hands, but two were to be chosen who shou'd govern with equal Authority and Command.* Then, because Names alone were offensive to many People, he thought that of Kingdom were to be left off, and the other of Common-wealth to be assum'd; and, instead of the Title of King and Monarch, some more modest and popular was to be invented; as likewise were some of their Ensigns to be laid aside, and others to be retain'd. *That the main and only thing to keep these Magistrates in order, was, to prevent their perpetual Power; and if they were Annual, after the manner of Athens, each might learn both how to be subject, and how to govern.* Lastly, *That the Name of King might not be wholly lost, the Title was so be given to one who shou'd be call'd Rex Sacrorum,* Rex Sacro-
who ram.

who having this Honour for Life, and Immunity from Warfare, shou'd only concern himself with those Religious Rites which the King had charge of before. The Particulars of this Speech were all approv'd of by the Senate, who immediately issu'd out a Decree for the King's Banishment, in this Form, *That the Tarquinii shou'd be banish'd with all their Offspring, and that it shou'd be capital for any one to speak or act for their Return.*

Brutus having procur'd thus much, the *Comitia* were immediately assembl'd by him, and the Body of *Lucretia*, all dismally bloody, brought, and set there for a pitiful Spectacle to all the People. There *Brutus*, to their great Surprize, discover'd himself, telling 'em the Reasons of his long and strange Disimulation, and the great Occasion of their present Meeting, withal shewing 'em the Senate's Decree. Then he fell to enumerating all the several Crimes and Villanies of *Tarquin*, particularly, *That he had poison'd his own Brother, strangled his Wife, murder'd his lawful Sovereign, and fill'd Ditches and common Sewers with the Bodies of the Nobility: That he came to the Kingdom an Usurper, and continu'd in it a Tyrant; being treacherous to his greatest Friends, and barbarous to all Mankind: That his three Sons were of a Temper as Insolent and Tyrannical as himself, especially the eldest, of which they now had a sad and doleful Instance before their Eyes. That since the King was absent, and the Patricians all resolv'd, neither Men, Money, nor Foreign Aid shou'd be wanting to 'em, had they but Courage for the Enterprize. Urging withal, That it was a shame to think of Commanding the Volsci, Sabines, and Nations abroad, and be Slaves to others at home; and to maintain so many Wars to serve the ambitious Ends of a Tyrant, and not undertake one for their own Liberty. And that as for the Army at the Siege, their own Interests in all respects wou'd oblige 'em to join in whatever was agreed upon in the City.*

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The Multitude, transported with the Hopes of Liberty, and charm'd with the Person and graceful Behaviour of *Brutus*, with loud Acclamations gave their Assent, and immediately call'd for Arms. *Lucretius* was appointed *Inter-rex* for holding the *Comitia*, who straight adjourn'd it to the *Campus Martius*, where Magistrates were elected in their Armour. There he nominated *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to exercise the *Regal Power*, as they before had agreed on among themselves, and the *Centuries* confirm'd em by their Suffrages. In the mean time, *Tarquin* having heard something of these Transactions, came riding in all haste to the City, with his Sons, and some of his most trusty Friends, to prevent the Mischiefs that threaten'd him; but finding the Gates fast shut, and the Walls full of arm'd Men, in great Grief he return'd to the Camp. But *Brutus* foreseeing his sudden coming, had industriously got before him to the Army another way, and acquainted them with the Decree both of Senate and People, pressing 'em hard to a Revolt. Immediately their Suffrages were call'd over according to their *Centuries*, and they unanimously agreed to do exactly as their Friends in the City had done; so that when *Tarquin* return'd, they refus'd to admit him. Thus frustrated of his Hopes, he went to *Gabii*, or to *Cave* in *Hetruria*, now Grey-headed, having reign'd 25 Years. *Herminius* and *Horatius*, chief Commanders of the Army, made a Truce with the Enemy for 15 Years, and raising the Siege before *Ardea*, return'd to *Rome* with all their Forces.

U. C.
245.

IV. Such was the End of the *Regal State* of *Rome*, 245 Years after the Building of the City, in the first Year of the 68th *Olympiad*, *A. M.* 3596. 31 Years after the Ruine of the *Babylonian* Empire, and the setting up of the *Persian*, 179 before the Beginning of the *Macedonian*, and 507 before our Saviour
E 4 Christ,

Christ, occasion'd by a Man who knew neither how to govern according to the Laws, nor yet to reign against them. The *Roman Dominions* now contain'd most of Old *Latium*, with the greatest part of the *Sabines* Country, a considerable part of *Hetruria*, particularly of the *Veientes*, *Cæretanes*, and *Tarquinius*, besides some small parts of the *Volschi* and *Æqui*; being much about 40 Miles long, and 30 broad; a Spot of Ground not so large by a fourth Part as either the Dukedoms of *Modena*, *Parma*, or *Mantua*, and not much larger than the Territory of the Commonwealth of *Luca*; so that this was rightly term'd by Historians, the *Infancy of Rome*, especially since most of these Parts were both able and ready to revolt upon every little occasion, as the *Romans* often found afterwards; so that it cost 'em many Years trouble, and many hazardous Wars, before they cou'd wholly subdue 'em, and much enlarge their Dominions.

If we look upon the City it self at this time, we may find it increas'd after a far greater Proportion than formerly, and its large Extent, its numerous Inhabitants, and its magnificent Structure, were happy Fore runners of its future Grandeur and Empire. And these, together with the wise Institution of its Prince, and the great Prudence and Gravity of its *Senate*, were the main Supporters and Preservers of it, in the midst of so many envious Neighbours, and powerful Enemies; tho' indeed the Inhabitants themselves were an extream rough and unpolish'd People, little acquainted with Knowledge and Learning, and far unlike their Successors in Skill and Conduct: Their Engagements were more like so many Tumults than real Battles, where Obstinacy in Fighting generally supply'd the Place of Discipline in War; only they had the good Fortune to deal with Neighbours, who had more Barbarity and Ignorance than themselves. In short,

short, what may truly be affirm'd of the *Old Romans*, is, they were a People of most extraordinary Courage and Fierceness, a People of prodigious Hardiness and Austerity of Life, a People of indefatigable Industry, and wonderful Lovers of their Country; and from these main Springs afterwards proceeded many great and noble Actions.

Before the Conclusion of this first Book, to make the *Roman History* as clear and intelligible as possible, it may be convenient to give a Hint of the several Countries the *Romans* afterwards became Masters of. First *Gaul*, which was then inhabited by an unciviliz'd, tho' a warlike People, was broken and divided into a great Number of petty Governments. *Spain* and *Germany* were much in the same Condition, and *Britain* not much better, as likewise was *Dacia* and *Illyricum*. *Greece* was in a most flourishing wealthy Condition, under several Monarchs of Renown, and powerful Common-wealths; but not long after became subject to the *Macedonian* Empire. *Asia Minor* was almost in the same Condition, then subjected to the *Persian*, and next to the *Macedonian* Empires, but at last partly freed from the latter. *Armenia* was a considerable Monarchy. *Syria*, *Chaldæa*, *Affyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, were all powerful States, but successively subject to the *Persian* and *Macedonian* Empires, the first of which prov'd a separate Kingdom. *Judea* was a small but noble Kingdom. *Ægypt* was also a flourishing Kingdom, subject to its own Kings. *Africa* was a powerful and growing Common-wealth, who had *Sicily* in a great measure. As for *Italy* itself, that was divided among many petty Nations and People, as was observ'd in the Beginning.

The End of the First Book.





T H E
Roman History.

B O O K II.

The Consular State of ROME, from the Beginning of that Government, to the Ruine of it by the First Triumvirate.

Containing the Space of 449 Years.

C H A P. I.

From the Banishment of the last King, to the first Dictator, which was the first Intermission of the Consular Power.

Containing the Space of 10 Years.

THE State of Affairs in Rome was now U. C. 245.
wholly alter'd, and the Government
quite chang'd; Restoration of Ancient
Privileges was the Peoples constant Dis-
course, and an odd Mixture of Fury and
Cunning ran through the whole Body of the Nati-
on, which caus'd 'em to put down Kingly Govern-
ment and set up that of Consuls. These high Off-
cers were two in number, first call'd *Prators*, next *Judices*,
and afterwards *Consuls*, à *Consulendo*, from
Coun-Consuls.

Counselling or Consulting the Common Good of the People: They were yearly elected by the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, out of the *Patricians*, being Persons no less than 43 Years old, or nigh, and of excellent Qualifications, as long as there was little or no Corruptions. The *Consular Power* was at first equal to the *Regal*, till in a short time *Poplicola* brought in the Liberty of appealing to the People: Yet, after this, their Authority was very large, for they were the Heads of the People and Senate, superior to all other Magistrates, govern'd the State, dispos'd of the Publick Revenues, administer'd Justice, call'd and dismiss'd the Senate, and all General Assemblies, had all the Laws enacted in their Names, led Armies, appointed Officers, treated with all Foreign Princes and Ambassadors, and transacted many other things in their own Names. They had also the Royal Ornaments us'd by the Kings, as the Golden Crown, Scepter, Purple Robes, White Robes, the twelve *Lictors*, with the Axes and Fasces, the Ivory and Curule Chairs; only to prevent the People's Jealousies, the Crowns and Scepters were never us'd but upon extraordinary Days of Triumph; and commonly one was attended by the Axes, and the other by the Rods, changing each Month. The first Consuls were *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, who had been the Authors of this Settlement; and they immediately reviv'd the Laws of *Servius Tullius*, concerning Publick Meetings and Assemblies, with other things that conduc'd to the Satisfaction of the Common sort, who look'd upon their ancient Rights as newly recover'd.

Before Affairs were perfectly settled in the Commonwealth, some Ambassadors from *Hebruria* arriv'd at Rome, in behalf of the late King *Tarquin*, who was now so mortify'd, and so sensible of his Mismanagement, that he made very large Promises of observing all regular Administration for the future, if they wou'd receive him as their lawful King.

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When this Proposal cou'd not be heard, the Ambassadors only desir'd, *That he might have his Goods return'd him, at least such as were his Grand-father Priscus's, who had deserv'd no Ill at their hands.* But *Brutus* very violently oppos'd that Demand, as being almost as dangerous as the other; he esteeming it no good Policy to furnish an Enemy with Money against themselves; however his Colleague *Collatine* most readily comply'd with it, but putting it to the Vote, it pass'd in the negative, the Voices being very nigh equal. The Ambassadors meeting with no Success, according to their Instructions, made several plausible Excuses for tarrying in *Rome* longer than ordinary; and in that time, by that cunning Management and fair Promises, found means to draw over some of *Collatine's* Family to their sides, namely, two of the *Aquili*, and three of the *Vitelli*, together with *Brutus's* two Sons, *Titus* and *Tiberius*. These, with some others, all join'd in a Conspiracy, keeping their private Meetings at the House of the *Aquili*, there to consult about, and manage their Designs, which were to kill both the *Consuls*, and to endeavour to re-enthroned *Tarquin*.

These Conspirators cou'd not long conceal their Practices, but were discover'd by a Slave call'd *Vindicius*, who had accidentally hid himself in the same Room, fearing to be found there, and not having time to come out. Now *Vindicius*, fearing to discover this strange Accident to either of the *Consuls*, upon the account of such a nigh Relation, went directly to *Valerius*, afterwards call'd *Poplicola*, a great Assistant in this Revolution, and laid open the whole Plot. *Valerius* was much startled at the Discovery; therefore to proceed warily, he first secur'd the Slave. to have him in readiness; then sending his Brother *Marcus* to beset the King's Palace, and watch all the Servants there, he himself, with his Friends and Clients, went to the House of the *Aquili*,
where

where he seiz'd on several Letters writ to *Tarquin* by these Conspirators. The *Aquilii* being abroad, met 'em at the Gate, where they endeavour'd to recover their Letters by force of Arms; but *Valerius*, by the help of his Followers, violently dragg'd 'em to the *Forum*, where he found some of the King's Servants with other Letters, who had been likewise forc'd thither by his Brother *Marcus*. The People throng'd on all sides, but the *Consul's* Sons drew the Eyes of the whole Multitude upon 'em, and several Tumults were like to arise, till both the *Consuls* came, and ascending the Tribunal, appeas'd all.

Vindicius was immediately sent for by *Valerius's* Order and coming before the *Consuls*, he related the whole Story at large, and for a greater Proof against 'em, the Letters were read publickly before all, *Brutus* all the while inwardly burning with Rage and Fury. The accus'd Parties pleaded nothing for themselves, but all stood wonderfully astonish'd, and in a profound Silence; till at last some, to flatter *Brutus*, propos'd *Banishment* as a sufficient Punishment, and *Collatine's* Tears with *Valerius's* Silence, gave the Prisoners great hopes of Mercy. But *Brutus* at last rose up, with a stern Majesty, and a Resolution to do something that the World should wonder at: He call'd aloud to both his Sons, *Canst not thou, O Titus, nor thou, Tiberius, make any Defence against these Crimes now laid to your charge?* This Question he put to them three several times, and receiving no Answer, he turn'd himself to the *Lictors* and Executioners, saying, *Now 'tis your part to perform the rest.* Nor cou'd all the Sentiments of paternal Pity, nor all the sad pleading Looks of the People, nor yet the lamentable Complaints of the unhappy Youths, move the Firmness of his Resolution; but presently the *Lictors* seiz'd on the two young Men, and stripping 'em, ty'd their Hands behind 'em, then tore their Bodies with Scourges, and presently after beheaded 'em; *Brutus* all

all the time gazing on the cruel Spectacle with a most steady Look and unalter'd Countenance, while the Multitude look'd on with a strange mixture of Pity and Amazement. *Brutus*, after this Execution, immediately departed out of the *Assembly*, leaving the rest of the *Criminals* to the Discretion of his *Colleague*.

Collatine's Backwardness in punishing the Prisoners encourag'd the *Aquillii* to desire some time to answer, and to have their Slave *Vindicius* deliver'd up to 'em, and not to continue in the hands of their Accusers. *Collatine* was ready to do both, and to dismiss the Assembly, when *Valerius*, who had the Slave in his hands, wou'd neither deliver him, nor suffer the People to break up without censuring the Accused; but immediately laid hands on the *Aquillii*, and sent for *Brutus*, exclaiming against *Collatine's* partial Dealings; whereupon the *Consul*, in a Rage, commanded the *Lictors* to take away *Vindicius*, who laying hold on him by violence, were assaulted by *Valerius's* Friends, the People all the while crying out for *Brutus*. Upon his appearing, Silence being made, he told the People, *He had already shewn himself a sufficient Lover of his Country by his Justice to his Sons, and left the other Delinquents to them, giving leave to every Man to speak freely.* They immediately put it to the Vote, and condemn'd 'em to be beheaded, which was presently executed. *Callatine* finding the People so enrag'd at him, partly for the sake of his nigh Relation to *Tarquin*, and partly for his unfortunate Behaviour in this Business, willingly resign'd his Place, and departed the City. *Valerius* was strait chosen *Consul* in his Room, who, to reward *Vindicius*, made him free, allowing him some Privileges above former *Freed Men*; and from him a perfect and full Manumission was afterwards call'd *Vindicta*. This done, the *Consul* di- *Vindicta;*
vided *Tarquin's* Goods among the People, demolish'd his Palace, and laid the *Campus Marcius*, which he had kept to himself, open as before, where hapning
to

to be Corn which had been newly cut down, they threw it into the River ; and after that the Trees that grew there, which fastning in the Ground, and stopping the Rubbish that was brought down by the Stream, at last grew into an Island, which they

Insula Sa- call'd *Insula Sacra.*
cra.

U. C.
246.

II. *Tarquin* now finding all his Endeavours ineffectual, drew together a considerable Army of *He-trurians*, and advanc'd towards *Rome*. The *Consuls* likewise drew out theirs to oppose him, and upon their joining, the two Generals, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Consul*, imprudently singled out each other, and fighting with more Zeal and Fury than Conduct and Discretion, were both slain. A very bloody Battel follow'd between both Armies, which the Night parted, but with such equal Fortune, that neither Party had much reason to boast ; but in the Night time, either from a Voice out of a Grove, as the common Story goes, *That the He-trurians had lost one Man more than the Romans*, or from some other extraordinary Fright, the Enemy abandon'd their Camp, and being fallen upon by the *Romans*, were nigh 5000 taken Prisoners, having lost 11300 in the Battel before. For this Victory *Valerius* triumph'd at his return to the City, after a more magnificent manner than any before him ; whose Example was always observ'd by Posterity. Soon after, he bury'd his Colleague *Brutus* with great Honour, he himself making a *Funeral Oration* in his Commendation ; and this Custom was continu'd in *Rome* for the future, upon the Death of all great and memorable Persons. There was such an universal Concern through all the City for *Brutus's* Death, that the Women by general Consent mourn'd for him a whole Twelvemonth, which was two Months more than *Numa* had appointed.

Valerius

Valerius now sole Governor, deferr'd the Election of another Consul, that he might the more easily settle the Common-wealth himself; but the People complaining, and fearing another *Tarquin*, he soon let 'em see their Mistake by his courteous Behaviour and ready Compliance with all their Desires, even to the demolishing his own House, which they thought too large and stately for him. His courteous and obliging Carriage, and his bowing to the People in the Assembly, got him the Name of *Poplicola*. He first fill'd up the Senate, which wanted 164 Persons; then made several Laws in favour of the People, and for the Retrenchment of the *Consular Power*. By one, he allow'd an *Appeal* from the Consuls to the People. By another, he made it Death for any Man to take any Magistrate's Office without the People's Consent. A third, gave relief to poor Citizens, by taking away the payment of Tribute. Another punish'd Disobedience to Consuls, and appointed a Penalty of five Oxen, and two Sheep; a Sheep being in those days valu'd at ten *Oboli*; (each *Obolus* 1 d. 1 q) and an Ox at an hundred. Another Law gave Power to any Man to kill the Person unheard, who affected the supreme Power, if he cou'd demonstrate the Crime. The last Law was for the Creation of two *Quæstors* or *Publick Treasurers*, who were to take *Quæstors* care of the Publick Monies and Contributions, and appointed the Temple of *Saturn* for the *Ærarium* or Treasury. These Officers were so nam'd *à quærendo*, because they enquire after the Publick Money, and likewise after Malefactors. Some say *Romulus* and *Numa* had their *Quæstors*, but then they were for Punishment, such as were afterward the *Triumviri*, for Capital Matters. This *Quæstors*hip was the first step to the Offices of Magistracy, and they were likewise to keep the Military Ensigns in the Treasury, to sell Plunder and Booty, lodge and carry out Ambassadors, and several other things of the like Nature.

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Their Number was afterwards very much encreas'd, till in the Time of *Julius Caesar* they came to forty, some being us'd for the Armies, and others for the Provinces. Of which these two of the first Creation were term'd *Urbani*, the rest *Provinciales* and *Militares*.

Poplicola having thus settled Affairs, held an Assembly for the Election of another Consul; where *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, was chosen, to whom, as being the Elder, *Poplicola* granted the *Fasces*, or Bundle of Rods, which respect of Age was ever observ'd by their Successors. *Lucretius* dying a few Days after his Creation, was succeeded by *M. Horatius*, in whose time the *Capitol* was finish'd, and the Dedication of it fell to *Horatius*, much against *Poplicola's* Will, who was forc'd to be abroad in the Wars at the same time. This was perform'd with great Pomp and Solemnity, and with as great a Concourse of People of all sorts. In the same Year was the first League made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, wherein it was provided that the *Romans* shou'd not sail beyond the *Fair Promontory*, which lay before *Carthage* towards the *North*; but were allow'd to traffick in all that Part of *Africa* on this side the *Promontory*, as also in *Sardinia*, and that Part of *Sicily* that was then under the *Carthaginians*. From whence it appears, that the *Carthaginians* look'd upon *Africa* and *Sardinia* as all their own, but *Sicily* only in part; but the *Romans* included in this League only *Latium*, making no mention of the rest of *Italy*, which was not then in their Power. In a little time after *Horatius's* Election, the time coming for new Consuls to be made, *Poplicola* was chosen a second time, and with him *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, in whose time a *Census* being perform'd, 130000 were cess'd and valu'd, besides Widows and Orphans.

III. Before *Poplicola*'s second Consulship was expir'd, *Tarquin* after his last Defeat, had betaken himself to the *Clusini*, one of the twelve Nations of *He-truria*, and had procur'd *Porfena*, King of *Clusium*, and of great Power, to undertake his Quarrel. *Poplicola*, to appear as magnificent as this King, found-ed the City *Sigliucia*, or rather *Signia*, while he was approaching, which he fortify'd with great Expence, and planted it with a Colony of 700 Inhabitants. But *Porfena* march'd directly to *Rome*, laid a close Siege to it, and made a furious Attack upon the Place ; in which Contest the two Consuls with much difficulty repulsing the *Hetrurians*, were both wound-ed and carry'd off. Upon which the *Romans* were much dishearten'd, and flying in great Disorder, were closely pursu'd by the Enemy to the Bridge, who wou'd also undoubtedly have enter'd the Town with 'em, had not *Horatius Coecles*, with only *Hermi-nius* and *Lartius*, most valiantly oppos'd 'em. *Coecles* defended the Passage with a wonderful Bravery, till his own Party found time to break down the Bridge, then cast himself arm'd, as he was, into the River, and swam over to his Friends, having receiv'd a Wound with a Spear in his Passage over. *Poplicola*, to reward him this extraordinary piece of Service, gave him several great Privileges, and appointed a Statue to be erected to his Memory in the Temple of *Vulcan*. *Porfena* held the Siege a long time, and reduc'd the City to great Straits ; but *Poplicola*, now exercising his third Consulship together with his last Year's Colleague, drew out his Forces, engag'd the King, overthrew him, and kill'd 5000 of his Men.

Nevertheless, the Siege continu'd, till *Mutius*, a Man of a most undaunted Courage, resolving to attempt the Life of *Porfena*, tho' amidst his own Soldiers, put on a *Tuscan Habit*, and using that Lan-

guage, came into the Camp, where by a Mistake he stab'd the King's Secretary, who sat nigh him, instead of the King himself. Being apprehended, and ready to be examin'd, he, like a Person more dreadful to others than fearful himself, told 'em, *That he was a Roman, and knew as well how to suffer as to act.* Upon which he courageously thrust his Right Hand into the Fire, intending to punish it for so great a Mistake, all the while beholding *Porfena* with a steady and angry Countenance, who struck and amaz'd at the Greatness of his Resolution, dismiss'd him with much Applause, and reach'd him his Sword back from his Throne. *Mutius* taking it with his Left Hand (whence he had the Name of *Scævola*) told the King, *That the Nobleness of his Generosity had more vanquish'd him than all the Terrors of his Threats; and that in requital he wou'd reveal a Secret to him, which no Torments shou'd ever have extorted from him: That three hundred Romans in the Camp were now waiting for his Life: That the first Attempt was appointed for him; but now he was extreamly satisfy'd that he had so happily miss'd killing a Person, whose Magnanimity better entitl'd him to the Friendship, than the Hatred of the Roman Nation.* *Porfena* hearing this, was immediately inclin'd to an Accommodation, not out of Fear of the 300 Men, but in admiration of the Roman Courage. *Poplicola* was well pleas'd with the Proposal, and agreed to make him Arbitrator between *Tarquin* and the People; but *Tarquin* resolutely refus'd to admit of any Judge; much less *Porfena*, who, as he said, had promis'd him Aid, and now basely falsify'd his Word. *Porfena*, angry at this, immediately made Peace with the Romans upon these Articles, *That the Romans shou'd quit those Tuscan Lands, which they had taken from the Veientes, restore all Prisoners, and receive all their Deserters.*

For the ratifying this Peace the Romans depos'd Twenty Hostages, Ten young Men, and as many Vir-

Virgins, among which was *Velera*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*. All Acts of Hostility ceasing, *Clælia*, a bold *Virago*, and one of the Hostages, got from her Keepers, and at the Head of the rest of the Virgins, swam over the River *Tiber*, amidst the Darts of the Enemies; and being all got home, they presented themselves before *Poplicola*; but he fearing the dangerous Consequences such an Act might occasion, sent them all back to *Porfena*; which *Tarquin* understanding, laid an Ambuscade for them and their Convoy, but they were rescu'd by *Aruns*, *Porfena's* Son. *Porfena* examining them, was so much taken with the extraordinary Courage and good Behaviour of *Clælia*, presented her with one of his own Horses sumptuously equip'd, and gave her Power of disposing of a set number of the Hostages, which she did with much Discretion, chusing out the youngest, as being less able to bear Injuries and Hardships. Then to give a further Testimony of his great Respects to the *Romans*, besides other Pieces of Magnificence, he commanded all his Soldiers to leave the Camp with only their Arms, delivering to the *Romans* his Tents well furnish'd with Provisions and Riches. On the other side the *Romans*, to shew their Gratitude, and to preserve his Memory, erected a Statue for him by the Senate-House; and another to *Clælia*, as *Livy* relates it, which was a *Maid on Horseback*, in the Street call'd *Via Sacra*; giving likewise to *Mutius* a Field beyond the *Tiber*, afterwards call'd *Muti Præta*. Thus ended the *Ætrurian War*, much to *Tarquin's* Dissatisfaction; and soon after *Herminius* and *Lartius*, who had so bravely defended the Bridge, were together chosen *Consuls*.

IV. A Year or two after the *Sabines* began to be very troublesome, making IncurSIONS into the *Roman Territories*. *M. Valerius* being one of the *Consuls*, by the Instructions of his Brother *Poplicola*, obtain'd

U. C.
249.

Claudii.
Tribes en-
creas'd a
second
time.

great Honours, overthrowing 'em twice, the last time killing 13000, with little or no loss to the *Romans*. Besides his Triumph, he had the additional Honour of a House built for him at the Publick Charge. The Year following, when *Poplicola* was Consul the fourth time, the whole Nation of the *Sabines* join'd in Confederacy with the *Latines* against *Rome*; but *Appius Claudius*, an eminent Man among the *Sabines* for Riches, Valour, and Eloquence, being much against the War, first retarded their Preparations, then after a short time came over to the *Romans* with 5000 Families of his Friends and Dependants. These had a considerable quantity of Land, and large Privileges allow'd 'em, besides their Freedom, especially *Claudius* himself, who was made also a Senator; and the *Clausi*, afterwards call'd *Claudii*, became as great a Family as any in *Rome*. Soon after this, the Tribes of the *Roman* State were encreas'd from Four to One and twenty, and one of the Four in the City was call'd *Tribus Claudia*, from the foremention'd *Appius Claudius*; and this remarkable Change happen'd in the 250th Year of this City, but upon what Account, and by whose Means it was effected, Historians are very silent.

The *Sabines* having made all necessary Preparations, advanc'd with all the Troops to *Fidenæ*, laying an Ambuscade of 200 Foot; whereof *Poplicola* having some notice by Deserters, he divided his Forces into three Parts, and taking the advantage of a Mist, fell upon the Enemy on so many sides, that only the high Distance of *Fidenæ*, sav'd 'em from being all cut off; the *Romans* obtaining large Plunder, and *Poplicola* a noble Triumph. Not long after, *Poplicola* having ended his Consulship, dy'd; and the People, as well upon the account of his Poverty, as to shew their Respect to so great and serviceable a Person, decreed he shou'd be bury'd at the Publick Charge, and by a Favour peculiar to that Family alone,

alone, within the City. This was perform'd with an equal Mixture of Pomp and Sorrow; the Women, by a general Consent, mourning for him a whole Year, as they had before done for *Brutus*. In the same Year, *Posthumius* and *Menenius*, being Consuls, the *Sabines* once more drawing together a numerous Army, march'd up almost to the Walls of *Rome*. As the Consuls advanc'd towards 'em, *Posthumius* fell into an Ambuscade, lost many of his Men, and narrowly escap'd himself; which unfortunate Disadvantage put the Citizens into so great a Consternation, that they ran back with all speed to their Walls, expecting when the Enemy shou'd attack the City: But the Enemy making no such Attempt, they march'd out again, resolving to redeem their lost Credit; and *Posthumius*, more concern'd than the rest, behav'd himself nobly, and, together with his Colleague, obtain'd a notable Victory, which had been finish'd with the entire Ruine of the *Sabines*, had not the Night interpos'd.

U. C.
251.

For the Greatness of this Victory, the Senate decreed *Menenius* a full Triumph; but *Posthumius*, by reason of his ill Success in the Beginning, had only an inferior one, which the *Romans* call'd *Ovation*, so nam'd from the Letter *O*, as it is said, which the Soldiers in way of Joy were wont to eccho at their return from Victory, whereas in Triumphs they cry'd *Io Triumphe!* Now an *Ovation* differ'd from a *Triumph*, properly so call'd, in these Particulars; namely, that in an *Ovation*, the General enter'd the City on foot, and not in a Chariot; that he was met only by the Knights and Gentlemen, not by the Senators in their Robes; that he himself had only the *Pretexta Toga*, the ordinary Habit of Consuls and Prætors, and not the Robe interwoven with Gold: And lastly, That he had not a Scepter in his Hand, but had only Laurel, and a Wreath of Myrtle on his Head. The Year following, *Cassius* and *Virginus* being Consuls, the

Ovation.

Triumph.

U. C.
252.

Sabines receiv'd another great Overthrow at *Cures*, 10300 being kill'd, and 4000 taken Prisoners; which Defeat forc'd 'em to beg Peace, and purchase it with Corn, Money, and part of their Lands. While *Cassius* did this good Service against the *Sabines*, his Colleague *Virginus* subdu'd the *Camarinaans*, who had revolted, and having executed the Ring-leaders, he sold the rest, and demolish'd the City: And thus ended the Contest with the *Sabines* for awhile.

U C.
254.

V. Tarquin still restless and unsatisfy'd, by the Assistance of *Mamilius Octavius*, his Son-in-law, stirr'd up the whole Body of the *Latines* to declare War against *Rome*; and moreover, had procur'd *Fidenæ* to revolt. But the Senate prudently declin'd making War with all the *Latines*, well knowing that many of 'em were rather inclin'd to live in Peace; therefore at first they block'd up *Fidenæ*, which had receiv'd some of *Tarquin's* Forces. *Tarquin* meeting with no great Success, now endeavour'd to accomplish his Designs a more easy way, by fomenting Differences and Quarrels between the rich and poorer Sort of *Rome*; for the effecting of which, he happen'd on a very convenient Opportunity for his Purpose. For about this time the Common People, who were burden'd by Usury, were much dissatisfy'd with the present State of Affairs, especially with the unreasonable Severity of Creditors, who generally seiz'd upon the Body of their Debtors, and us'd 'em worse than Slaves. *Tarquin* being sensible of all this, sent certain of his Friends with good Quantities of Gold, giving 'em some in hand, and promising more after the King's Restoration, and thereby procur'd a Conspiracy of many poor Citizens, and discontented Slaves. But the whole Matter was soon discover'd to *Sulpicius*, one of the Consuls, who after he had return'd a very civil Denial to the *Latine* Ambassadors, then present about Business, by a

Wile

Wile drew the Conspirators into the *Forum*; where incompassing 'em about, he put 'em all to the Sword.

These dangerous Stirs being thus allay'd for a time, the Consuls of this and the following Year look'd abroad, and in no long time *Fidenæ* was yielded to *Largius Flavius*. The *Latines* now inrag'd at the Loss of this Town, began to complain of their principal Men; which Opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* so far improv'd, as to procure all the *Latin* Cities, 24 in number, to declare War against the *Romans*; withal engaging them, that none should forsake the Interest of the Associates, nor make any separate Peace, which they seal'd with dreadful Oaths and Curses against them who shou'd break the Confederacy, who were to be held as Enemies by all the rest. The *Latines* made extraordinary Preparations, as likewise did the *Romans*; but the latter cou'd procure no Auxiliaries abroad, therefore were forc'd to rely all upon their Domestick Strength, which Necessity made the better Sort more courageous and valiant. But in levying Men, to the great Surprize of the Consuls and Senate, the poorer Sort and Debtors, which were very numerous, refus'd to list themselves, except their Debts were all remitted by a Decree of Senate; nay, some began to talk of leaving the City, *since they cou'd have no happy Life while they were there.*

U. C.
255.

The *Patritians* endeavour'd to appease the Multitude by gentle Words, but all in vain; upon which the *Senate* fell into a serious Debate about this weighty Matter. There were some for a free Remission of all Debts, as the safest and securest Method at that Juncture; others urg'd the dangerous Consequences of this Condescension, advising 'em to list such as wou'd give in their Names, and slight the rest. Between these two Extreams, several other Methods were propos'd; but at length this Order prevail'd. *That all Suits and Processes concerning Debts should cease till*

till this War was finish'd. This Expedient, tho' in some measure useful, had not the intended Effect upon the unruly Minds of the Multitude, therefore the Senate was put upon another. Whereas by the Laws of *Poplicola*, the Consular Authority was much restrain'd and diminish'd by the Appeal to the People, so that no Man cou'd be oblig'd to go into the War against his Will; therefore they found it necessary, at this time, as well upon the account of the Wars abroad, as the Troubles at home, to create a particular Magistrate, from whom shou'd lie no Appeal, and who for a set time shou'd be the sole Governour. This supream Officer was call'd *Dictator*. *Largius Flavius* was the first that was created by the Senate; and this was the first Intermission of the Consular Power, about ten Years after their first Creation, and afterwards prov'd the Ruine of the Popular State, and the bringing in of *Monarchy* a second time.



C H A P. II.

From the Creation of the first Dictator, to the great Retrenchment of the Consular Power by the Tribunes of the People.

Containing the Space of 5 Years.

Dic. i. I. **N**OW was the Consular Power for a while laid
U. C. aside, and another Officer made, who had
 255. more Power than both the Consuls; so nam'd *dictando*, from dictating or commanding what was to be done. He was also call'd *Magister Populi*, and *Prætor Maximus*, and was always created in the Night-time by the Senate's Order, and Nomination of the Consuls without the People; and was generally made, either upon some urgent Occasion of War and Sedition, or in the times of Plagues and Famines,

Famines, or for the Celebration of some particular Game, or whenever else there was need of a sudden and extraordinary Command; and this was oftentimes a means of preserving the *Romans Commonwealth* from Ruine. His Authority was absolute; He had Power of Peace and War, to levy Forces, to lead 'em out, to disband 'em, and to act all things according to his Pleasure, without referring them to the Senate; and upon his Creation, all other Magistrates, except the *Tribunes of the People*, laid down their Offices, and the whole Government was left in his hands. He had 24 Bundles of Rods carry'd before him, with as many Axes, and he punish'd as he pleas'd without any Appeal: Hence this Office came to be so terrible, that the Edict of a *Dictator* was observ'd as the Command of a Deity. But then this extraordinary Power was limited both by Time and Place; for the Office was never to continue above six Months; nor was the *Dictator* allow'd to march out of *Italy*, nor ever on Horseback without leave, to shew that the *Roman Strength* lay in the Infantry. The *Dictator* upon his Creation, always made choice of another Officer, one that had either been *Consul* or *Prætor*, to assist him; this Officer was call'd *Magister Equitum*, who had chief Command over the Horse-men, as the *Dictator* had over the *Roman People*. In the *Dictator's* Absence, this *Master of the Horse* executed his Place in the Army; at present, he commanded the Horse, yet so as to be obedient to the *Dictator's* Orders, and never to fight either contrary to, or without his Commands.

Largius Flavins, one of the *Consuls* for this Year, being, as was said before, made *Dictator*, chose *Sp. Cassius* for his *Master of the Horse*, who had been *Consul* in the Year 252, and immediately appear'd in Publick with his 24 Axes and Rods before him; which soon chang'd the Face of Affairs in the City. Having with these and other Ensigns of Power terrify'd
and

and stopp'd the seditious Murmurs of the Multitude, he began the *Census*, after the Pattern of *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King, according to the *Tribes*, taking the Names and Ages of such as were cels'd, and of Children. In a short time, the Fear of losing Freedom and Estates so far prevail'd, that 150700 of full Age gave in their Names, which he distributed into four Parts, taking one for himself, ordering a second to his *Master of the Horse*, and the two remaining to two Persons commission'd on purpose, one of which was to continue in the City for the Defence of it. Affairs thus settl'd, he sent some private Ministers, who dealt privately with several *Latine* Cities, and procur'd 'em to suspend the War, and make a Truce for one Year, notwithstanding the great Oppositions made by *Tarquin* and *Mamilius*, for whose sakes they undertook the Quarrel. Upon this, *Largius* return'd home with his Army, and before his six Months were out, he laid down his Office, and the Consular Power took Place again, no Citizen being punish'd either by Death or Banishment, or cruelly us'd in all that time; and this Carriage was imitated by his Successors for many Ages; and notwithstanding the Vastness of this Authority, it was very rarely abus'd; nor was the Common-wealth any ways prejudic'd by it, till *Sylla's* time.

Dict. ii.
U. C.
257.

Then the Truce between the *Romans* and *Latines* was at an end, both Parties prepar'd to take the Field, the former chearfully, and the latter unwillingly. The *Latines* were so strong, that the *Romans* thought it convenient to create a *Dictator*, and accordingly *Virginus* the Senior Consul nominated *Posthumus* his Colleague, who chose *Ebutius Helva* for his *Master of the Horse*; and hastning his Levies, divided his Troops into four Parts, reserving one to himself, assigning the second to *Virginus*, the third to *Ebutius*, and the fourth to *Sempronius*, who was to defend the City. Upon Intelligence that the *La-*
tines

tines had taken the Field, *Posthumus* advanc'd with all speed to the Lake *Regillus*, 14 Miles East of Rome by *Tusculum*, where he fortify'd himself against the Enemy, who as yet were not all united, but expected Aid from the *Volsci*. The Romans divided themselves into three Parts, and were so conveniently posted as to cut off all Provisions from the *Latine* Camp, designing to starve 'em; but the News of the March of the *Volsci* alter'd their Measures, making 'em resolve to engage. The Roman Army consisted of 24000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and the Enemy of 40000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, *Tarquin's* Son *Titus* commanding the main Body, his Brother *Sextus* the Left Wing, and *Mamilius* the Right: *Posthumus* stood against *Titus*, *Ebutius* against *Sextus*, and *Virginus* against *Mamilius*, and so began a Bloody Battle. *Florus* says, that *Posthumus* cast one of the Ensigns among the Enemy, that his Men might be the more eager to fall upon 'em and recover it; and that *Ebutius* commanded the Bridles to be taken off the Horses, that they might charge with the greater Violence and Fury. The Victory at last fell on the Roman side; and the Battel was fought with so much Bravery and Courage, that it was reported, that the Gods themselves were present, particularly *Castor* and *Pollux* mounted on Milk-white Steeds. The *Latines* lost *Mamilius* and *Sextus*, and were so broken, that scarce a fourth Part of 'em escap'd; and from the Place of this Victory, *Posthumus* obtain'd the Surname of *Rhegillensis*; many others likewise gaining great Honour, particularly *Caius Marcius*, afterwards call'd *Coriolanus*.

After the Battel was over, the *Volsci* arriv'd at the Camp, whereof one Party was for attacking the Romans now weary; but another Party, willing to ingratiate themselves with the Conquerors, prevail'd to send to the Dictator, to let him understand, That they came to his assistance. But *Posthumus* convinc'd 'em
of

of their Falshood by their own Letters which he had intercepted, and giving leave to the Messengers to return, whom the Multitude would have pull'd in pieces, resolv'd to fall on them the next day ; but in the Night they abandon'd their Camp and fled. The *Latines*, now in a very bad Condition, sent in the humblest manner imaginable to beg Peace of the *Romans* ; and their Ambassadors with so many Tears and submissive Intreaties laid all the Blame on the Nobility, that the Motion of *Largius* prevail'd in their Behalf for the former League to be renew'd. Thus ended all the Wars made upon the *Tarquin* account, which had been carry'd on for 13 Years. As for *Tarquin* himself, the only Person left of all his Family, now abandon'd by the *Latines*, *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, with the rest of the neighbouring People, who all refus'd to harbour him, he went into *Campania* to *Aristodemus*, Prince of *Cuma*, where he shortly after dy'd, being about 90 Years of Age, and the last King that *Rome* ever saw.

U. C. II. Upon the finishing of this War, *Posthumius* laid
258. down his Office, and *Appius Claudius* the *Sabine*, and *Servilius Priscus* were made Consuls for the Year following ; and now the Courts of Justice were again open'd, and Processes against Debtors revived. This caus'd great Disturbances among the Common People, the *Plebeians* alledging their Inability of paying their Debts upon the account of their Losses by the Enemies Incursions, and their want of Tillage ; which Plea their Creditors likewise made use of, shewing that these Losses were such as made the remitting of their Debts impossible ; which occasion'd many Tumults and Quarrels. The Consuls endeavour'd to divert these threatening Mischiefs, by making War against the *Volsci*, who had lately assisted the *Latines* ; but none of the *Plebeians* wou'd list themselves, making grievous Complaints against the

intolerable Severity of their Creditors, and declaring, *That they had ventur'd their Lives to preserve the Liberty of the State abroad, and in requital were made Slaves by their Countrymen at home*. Now *Servilius* was willing to comply in some measure with the Poor, but *Appius* very hotly oppos'd it as the most dangerous Remedy in the World; and the Disagreement of the Consuls added much to the Common Calamity. However, the Senate at last was forc'd to have recourse to the Popularity of *Servilius*, who with fair Words and Promises persuaded the People into the Field; where, when he had by his good Services deserv'd a Triumph, the Honour was deny'd him by the Insinuation of his Colleague *Appius*, who represented to the Senate, *That by bearing and complying with the Multitude, he had impair'd the Dignity of his Order*. The People now expecting the Performances of *Servilius's* Promises, were wholly disappointed by *Appius's* Contrivances, which doubled their Rage, and made 'em carry all things by open Force, rescuing their Companions out of the Hands of the Sergeants, holding secret Cabals, denying ever to touch a Weapon, till their Burdens were remov'd.

These dangerous Stirs put the Senate to a great stand. *Appius* still urg'd, *That nothing ought to be granted to the Rabble*; and the better to quell the Disturbances, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which most suppos'd wou'd be himself: But the present Consul made choice of *M. Valerius* a popular Man, supposing that the Terror of the Office alone wou'd perform the Work, and that a Person of a mild and moderate Temper wou'd best manage it. *Valerius* chose *Servilius*, the late Consul, for his *Master of the Horse*; and he minding the Pleasure of the People more than his own Authority, told 'em, *That if they wou'd freely follow him, not only what they justly requir'd concerning their Debts, but other Rewards shou'd be granted 'em*; by which means he procur'd ten Legions to be list'd.

With

Dict. iii.
U. C.
259.

With these he march'd against the *Volsci*, *Æqui*, and *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms; and having reduc'd 'em, he divided some Lands he had taken from the *Volsci*, among the Soldiers. At his Return he requested the Senate, that his and their Promises might be made good, but was check'd for his too great Compliance with the Multitude; and because he was an old Man above seventy, unfit, as he said, to contend, and unwilling to shew his utmost Authority, he immediately laid down his Office. This more inflam'd the Common People, who now had their private Consultations, designing to separate themselves from the *Patritians*; which when the Senate perceiv'd, Order was given to the Consuls not to disband the Army, pretending that the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had new Designs against *Rome*. Now the Soldiers being strictly bound by their Oath, call'd *Sacramentum*, at their first Listing, cou'd not forsake their Standards; but the Consuls having their Camps nigh each other, by the Advice of one *Sicinius Belulus*, they all removed to one of them; and then taking away the Ensigns and Standards from the Consuls, they retir'd to a Mountain, afterwards call'd *Mons Sacer*, three Miles North of *Rome* by the River *Anio*, now call'd *Taverone*.

Upon this News, the whole City was in a strange Consternation and Tumult; insomuch that the *Patritians* fear'd lest Civil Wars shou'd ensue, for the *Plebeians* growing extream high, many of 'em left the Town and flock'd to the Army, tho' the other hinder'd it as much as possible. The Fathers had great Contests among themselves, some pleading for the Multitude, others urging nothing but downright Force; till the former sort prevail'd to send a Message to the Armies, desiring 'em, *to return home, and declare their Demands*; withal promising 'em, *to forget their Crimes, and to reward their good Services*. But this Message was receiv'd with disdainful Words, and violent

Violent Complaints, intermix'd with threatening Language; which the more sensibly afflicted the Fathers, as not knowing which way to procure a Reconciliation, since they cou'd no longer keep the People in the City from going over to the Army. Now was the time for electing of new Consuls at hand, but the Stirs were so violent, that no *Candidates* (so called, because they sued for the Place in *White Garments*) wou'd stand for the Office, nor any accept of it; till at last the Consuls, by their sole Authority, appointed *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Cassius*, who had been Consuls before, and were equally in Favour with the Nobility and Commons.

Candidates.

U. C.
260.

The Consuls immediately call'd the Senate, and consulted 'em about the Return of the Commons: *Agrippa Menenius*, a very discreet Person and a great Orator in those Days, urg'd the great Necessity of a *Composure*, and a Compliance with the People, since the Roman Dominions cou'd neither be encreas'd, nor yet preserv'd without the inferior Sort. *Valerius*, the last Dictator, seconded him, and upbraided the Senate for not believing him when he foretold these Distempers; that now they ought to heal the Wound before it was gone too far; that there were several Reasons the Roman People had to separate themselves from the better sort; all which had great and plausible Appearances of Justice. But *Appius*, according to his usual Manner, violently declaim'd against the Insolence of the Mob, and the Imprudence of the Senate in any sort of Compliances; that if they granted these things when Enemies, which they refus'd when Friends, they wou'd not rest here, but require a Communication of all Honours, and what not? So that at last the whole Power of the State wou'd come into the Hands of the Rabble. This Speech so pleas'd and transported some of the younger Sort of his Party, that nothing cou'd be determin'd by Reason of the Heats on both sides. This put the Consuls upon dismissing the Senate for that time, admonishing the younger Sort, to carry themselves more modestly

modestly for the future, or else they wou'd prefer a Law to limit a certain Age for Senators; exhorting likewise the graver sort to Concord, letting them know, *That they had a way to end the Controversy, by referring the Matter to the People, who had a Right to judge of it, as a Case of Peace and War.* Upon which, the Senate broke up.

At the next Meeting, the Senate almost unanimously agreed to treat with the People, tho' *Appius* oppos'd it what he cou'd; and *Menenius* with nine others were commission'd with full Power to compose the Differences. At their first arrival at the Camp, their Proposals cou'd not be heard thro' the Instigations of two cunning and turbulent Fellows, *Sicinius* and *Lucius Junius*, who out of conceit had likewise affected the Name of *Brutus*; but by degrees they were so far appeas'd as to listen to the Commissioners. *Menenius* finding the Rage and Violence of the People too great to hearken much to Rhetorick, bethought himself of a more effectual way, and such as was more likely to make Impression; therefore laying aside his former way of Speeches, and Oratory, after a short Promise or two of discharging all Disabled Debtors, he in a plain and familiar way began thus: *Once upon a time, the Members and Parts of Man's Body fell out with the Belly, alledging, that they were all forc'd to toil and moil to provide Necessaries for the Belly, whilst it liv'd idle and lazy in the midst of the Body, and did nothing but enjoy its Pleasure. Whereupon they resolv'd that the Hands should not lift the Meat to the Mouth, nor the Mouth receive, nor yet the Teeth chew it; by which means while they endeavour'd to furnish the Belly, they themselves and the whole Body were all starv'd for want of the Nourishment they receiv'd from it.* This Story, and his home Application of it, had so great an Effect upon the People, that they unanimously cry'd out, *He shall lead 'em home without delay.*

The Multitude were so well satisfi'd, that they were ready to depart with no other Security than the bare Words of the Commissioners; but *Junius Brutus*, before

foremention'd, kept 'em from that, alledging, *That tho' they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind Offers of the Senate, yet some Persons of revengeful Tempers might notwithstanding reserve their Anger for a more convenient Opportunity; and that therefore it was necessary for the Security of the Commons, to have certain Officers created yearly out of their own Body, whose Power shou'd be to give Relief to such Plebeians as were injur'd, and suffer none to be defrauded of their Rights.* This was greatly approv'd of by the Multitude, and closely insisted on and urg'd to *Menenius* and his Fellow-Commissioners; who thought it not proper to yield to a matter of that great Consequence without leave from the Senate, but demanded time to know their Pleasures. Upon the Debate of this Matter in the Senate-house, *Valerius* thought the Favour was to be granted to the Commons; but *Appius* most violently oppos'd it, invoking the Gods, and truly foretelling, *what vast Troubles and Calamities the granting it wou'd certainly bring upon the Common-wealth*: Yet the Majority weary'd out with the present Misfortunes, and desiring Peace, gave it in favour of the People, and Commissioners were immediately dispatch'd to 'em with the Resolution of the House. The Commons, by the Advice of *Menenius*, first sent to have a Religious Confirmation of this Privilege from the Senate, and afterwards in the Assembly of the *Curiae*, or *Curiate Comitia*, elected *J. Brutus* and *Sicinius Bellulus*, to whom they afterwards join'd *C. and P. Licinius*, and *Icilius Ruga*, which made five in all.

These Officers were call'd *Tribunes of the People*, either because they were elected by the *Tribes*, or because they were first made out of the *Tribunes* or Colonels of the Soldiers. They were first Five in number; 37 Years after, Five more were added, and this number of Ten so continu'd; and they were always elected by the *Plebeians*, and ever out of their Body, except once, and most commonly of the lower sort, till by a Law made afterwards, they were order'd to be

*Tribuni
Plebeis.*

created out of such of the *Plebeians* as were Senators. They had the Power of *Interposing*, and the Design of that Power was to relieve the Oppressed, and to be a Shield to keep off all Evil and Mischief. They null'd all such *Decrees* and *Commands* of the Senate and Consuls as they reckon'd unjust, and of all other Magistrates, except the *Dictators*; and to shew their readiness to protect the meanest, their Doors stood open Night and Day to their Complaints. They at first had their Seats plac'd before the Doors of the Senate-house, tho' afterwards they enter'd in, where examining the Decrees of the Fathers, they either interpos'd by the Words *Veto* or *Vetamus* solemnly pronounc'd, or else sign'd 'em with the Letter T, which made 'em pass. They procur'd themselves to be accounted *Sacrosancti*, so as by a Law made they were free from all manner of Compulsion, and were inviolable either by Word or Deed, and severe Penalties laid on such as broke it; and lest the People shou'd afterwards repeal this Law, they made all the Citizens take the most solemn Oath imaginable to preserve it entire and untouch'd. As for the *Ensigns* of their Office, they had no *Toga Pretexta*, *Lictors* or *Curule Chair*, but only a sort of a *Beadle*, call'd *Viater*, went before 'em. The want of these Attendants, their not entring at the beginning of the Year, and their not laying down their Offices upon the Creation of a *Dictator*, made some hold 'em to be no *Magistrates*, but rather a Curb and Restraint to all others. Notwithstanding the disproportionate Greatness of these *Tribunes* Power, it was considerably limited by these two things, which they scarcely perceiv'd at the beginning: The first was their Confinement to the City-Walls, out of which they had no Authority; neither was it lawful for 'em to be absent from the City a Day, *Dion* says not an Hour: The second was their Number, for any one of the Ten had a Negative Vote, and this was the only effectual Means to moderate the Power which they afterwards assum'd; the *Patritians*

tricians generally prevailing with one of the Ten to be of their side, which was sufficient to hinder the Designs of all the rest.

This was the first great Retrenchment of the *Consular Power*, besides what had been caus'd by *Poplicola* before: And now the Common-wealth was turn'd from an *Aristocracy* to a *Democracy*, or at least to a Mixture of both. The Awe which this *Sacrosanct* Magistracy had upon most People, gave 'em occasion afterwards to enlarge their Power and Authority, and to become most extravagantly imperious, assembling and dismissing the Senate, imprisoning the Consuls, and the like, as shall be more particularly shewn afterwards: So that they often prov'd the Cause of many dangerous Seditions and Tumults, and were the greatest Disturbers of the Peace of the Common-wealth, insomuch that they were by some Authors call'd *Pestes Reipublicæ*. This remarkable Innovation on the Government hapned in the 260th Year of the City, 46 after the Ruin of the *Babylonian*, and the Beginning of the *Persian* Empire, and in the third Year of the 71st *Olympiad*.



C H A P. III.

From the Creation of the Tribunes of the People, to the second Intermission of the Consular Power by the Decemviri.

Containing the Space of 42 Years.

I. **T**HE Commons having got a Confirmation of the Office of *Tribune* from the Senate, obtain'd further, that they might yearly chuse two out of their own Body, to assist these Officers. These were first call'd *Ministers and Assistants of the Tribunes*, but afterwards *Ædiles*, *ab Ædibus curandis*, because one part of their Office was to take Care of the Repairing the

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Ædiles.

the Publick Buildings, Aqueducts and Common-Sewers, especially the Temple of *Ceres*, where all the *Plebiscita* or Ordinances of the Commons were kept, of which they had an Oversight. Besides the Care of the Publick Buildings, they were by the Permission of the *Tribunes* to determine some particular Controversies ; to look after such as held more Land than the Laws allow'd 'em ; to accuse such Matrons as liv'd scandalously ; to punish excessive Usurers, and Extortioners ; to restrain Tipling and Gaming-houses, to fine Persons for lewd and uncivil Words or Actions ; to correct false Weights and Measures ; to provide Bread-Corn and Oil in the Time of Famine, and to see that the same was not hoarded up, nor the Markets forestall'd ; as also to take care that necessary Provisions were sent to the Armies, and the like. About 127 Years after, were added two more out of the *Patritians*, call'd *Ædiles Curules*, who shall be spoken of in their proper Place.

After the Commons had obtain'd these Officers, and what else they desir'd, they readily list'd themselves to go against the *Volsci*, under *Postumius* the Consul. He soon took *Longula* and *Polustia* from 'em, then invested *Corioli*, a strong City, and the Metropolis of the Nation ; but the *Antiates* marching to its Relief, he left part of his Army under *T. Largius*, and with the other advanced to give the Enemy Battels. *Largius*, in the meantime, attempting to storm the Town, the Besieg'd receiv'd him with so much Courage and Vigour, that the *Romans* were driven back to their Trenches in great Disorder ; but *Caius Marcius*, a valiant *Patritian* formerly mention'd, with a small Party, most courageously stood the Enemies Shock, and with a wonderful Bravery forc'd 'em back into the Town, whom he follow'd so close at their Heels, that he went in with 'em : By which the Besieg'd were so terrify'd, that not considering their own Numbers, they fled to the contrary Part of the City, suffering him to let the rest of
the

the Army into the Town, which they soon possess'd themselves of. Which done, *Marcus* wou'd not permit the Soldiers to stay for Plunder, but hastned 'em to join the Consul with all speed ; and whilst the Armies were approaching, desir'd leave of *Posthumius* to engage in the main Body with his Party, where the chief Strength of the Enemy lay ; and having obtain'd that Post, he behav'd himself with that admirable Courage and Conduct, that the Enemy were soon overthrown. The Consul gave him extraordinary Commendations, owning him to be the chief Cause of the Victory, and offer'd him a large Share of the Booty before the Division among the Soldiers. But he modestly refus'd all but one single Horse, which gain'd him greater Honour among the Soldiers, and caus'd *Posthumius* to bestow the Surname of *Coriolanus* upon him, for his incomparable Valour shewn at *Corioli*. The *Volsci* by this Overthrow were forc'd to Submission, and made their Peace. This same Year was the League of Confederacy renew'd with the *Latines*, and likewise a third *Feria* or Holy-day appointed by the Senate for the Union of the Nobility and Commons, the first being for the Conquest of *Hetruria* in the fifth King's Reign, and the second for the Banishment of *Tarquin*. This Year also dy'd *Menenius*, whom the People out of Gratitude bury'd at the Publick Charge, because he dy'd poor, and Money was bestow'd on his Children. Now likewise was the *Census* perform'd, and 110000 Heads were cels'd.

II. The Year following, there was a great Famine in the City, occasion'd chiefly by the want of Tillage during the late Separation. This put the Senate upon sending to *Sicily*, and several Parts of *Italy*, to buy Corn ; but, notwithstanding this Care, the common sort, now extreamly pinch'd with Want, grew very turbulent, laying all the Blame upon the *Patritians*. This advantage the *Volsci* endeavour'd to improve, but

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were diverted by a grievous Plague, which so rag'd among 'em, that *Velitra*, a noble City of that Country, being exhausted of its Inhabitants, they begg'd of the *Romans* to send a Colony thither. Which occasion'd many of the *Romans*, tho' unwillingly, to be sent thither, and also to *Norba*, a *Latin Town*. Upon which the rest were so enrag'd, imagining it a Design to destroy 'em, that they call'd the *Tribunes* into the *Comitium*, where they and the *Consuls* had a violent Contest; which occasion'd a Law to be made, *That no Man shou'd dare to interrupt the Tribunes, when they spoke to the People.* This still bred greater Animosities between the Senate and People; but the *Consuls*, to divert 'em, and to ease their Wants, offer'd to lead 'em into the Enemies Country; but few or none wou'd list themselves; so that *Marcus Coriolanus* with some *Patritians*, and a few of their *Clients*, made Incursions, and return'd home laden with Booty; the Knowledge of which put the poorer Sort into a fresh Murmuring against the *Tribunes*, who had dissuaded them from the Expedition. So that now the City was almost all in a Flame and Confusion, but more from the Infirmary of the Government, than the Disposition of the People.

These Tumults and Disturbances were considerably appeas'd by the happy Arrival of great Quantities of Corn from *Sicily*, which was bought at a cheap Rate, and half given in by *Gelon* of *Sicily*. Now the *Patritians* considering at what Rates to dispose of the Corn, *Coriolanus*, incens'd at the Behaviour of the Commons, counsell'd 'em to keep it up at a high Rate, and to shew no Favour, nor give any Incouragement to the Insolence of the *Tribunes* and the Rabble; but wholly to take away the *Tribuneship*, as the only way to remedy the Disorders of the State. Upon notice of this, the Multitude in a mad Fury wou'd have fall'n upon the Senate, but were stopt by the *Tribunes*, who laid all the Blame upon *Coriolanus*, and sent the *Ædiles* to apprehend him, and

and bring him before the People. The *Ædiles* going to execute their Office, were repuls'd and beaten by the young *Patritians*, who were gather'd about *Coriolanus*. This put all in a greater Flame than ever, and the whole City tumultuously assembled together, where the *Tribunes* decreed, that *Coriolanus* shou'd immediately be cast down headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock. The *Ædiles* strait seiz'd on him, and the *Patritians* again rescu'd him, and there was nothing but Tumults and Uproars in all Places : But the Senate, by selling of Corn at low Rates, and by good Words and Entreaties, so far appeas'd 'em, that the *Tribunes* null'd their former Decree, and set him a Day to answer for himself before the People. The Consuls finding their Authority was like to be much weaken'd, after long Debates and much Difficulty, procur'd the *Tribunes* to sue out this Decree from the Senate, which was granted ; and the third Market-day after was appointed for his Trial. *Coriolanus* demanded of the *Tribunes* what they wou'd lay to his Charge ; who, after some Consultation, told him, *They intended to accuse him of aiming at Sovereignty and Tyranny* ; whereupon he chearfully put himself upon Trial, not refusing the severest Punishment, if they cou'd prove that against him.

When the appointed Day was come, all Persons were fill'd with great Expectations, and a vast Concourse of Country-People early in the Morning had plac'd themselves in the *Forum*, and the *Tribunes* assembl'd the People, separating the *Tribes* from one another with Cords, and ordering them to give their Votes according to their *Tribes*, and not according to their *Centuries* ; which Innovation the *Patritians* much complain'd of, but after some debate admitted it. *Minucius*, the Consul, began first, *Declaring the great Worth of the Person to be try'd, signifying that the Senate became Petitioners in his behalf, and desiring the Tribunes that they wou'd keep wholly to their first Impeachment, namely, his aiming at Sovereignty* ; which they promis'd to do, *Socinius*, one of the

the *Tribunes*, enviously urg'd all that he cou'd imagine wou'd make for his purpose, putting the worst Construction upon all his Actions: But when *Coriolanus* came to speak, his Affairs soon seem'd to be in a more favourable Condition; for his graceful relating all his great Services to the State, his shewing his Scars receiv'd all over his Body, and the Cries and Lamentations of such as he had sav'd in the Wars, made such a powerful Impression upon the People, that they generally cry'd out, *He was to be releas'd*. But *Decius*, another of the *Tribunes*, a cunning and spiteful Fellow, stood up, alledging, *That he wou'd wave all Words and Expressions, and insist on his Actions, which wou'd make good the Charge of Tyranny: There was a certain Law, that all Booty and Plunder gain'd in War, shou'd be appropriated to the Publick Use, and be given into the hand of the Quæstor, untouch'd by the General*. Now, whereas that Law had ever been look'd upon as inviolable, *Coriolanus* had wilfully broke it: For in the late Incurſion into the Territories of *Antium*, where he had got great plenty of Slaves, Cattel, and Provisions, he neither deliver'd these things to the Quæstor, nor paid any Money into the Treasury, but divided the Booty among his Friends, which was a manifest Argument that he design'd to enslave his Country; it being the constant Practice of all that affect Tyranny, by such means to procure themselves Instruments for their Purpose. *Coriolanus* was strangely surpriz'd at so unexpected a Charge; and the *Consuls* and *Patritians* being likewise utterly to seek for an Answer, the *Tribunes* immediately nam'd perpetual Banishment, and gather'd the Votes of the *Tribes*, where only nine of the one-and-twenty clear'd him, so he stood condemn'd by the Majority. This was the first Sentence pass'd by the People upon any *Patritian*, and henceforth the *Tribunes* usually set a Day to whomsoever they pleas'd; whereby the Power of the Commons was very much enlarg'd, and the Interest of the *Patritians* more and more diminish'd.

¶ *Coriolanus*, accompanied home with the Sighs and Tears

Tears of a great many, took his Leave of his Mother, Wife, and Children, who all made lamentable Complaints; but he, like a true *Roman*, with small Appearance of Concern, bad them bear all chearfully, and departed the City without any thing to bear his Charges, attended only by a few of his *Clients*. Thus he went to *Antium*, and apply'd himself to *Tullus Attius*, a Man of great Note among the *Volsci*, of a magnanimous Spirit, and a violent Enemy of the *Romans*, where throwing himself at his Feet, he begg'd of him to revenge his Country's Losses by his Death, or his own Wrongs by Rome's Destruction, which by her unnatural Carriage towards him, had now forfeited all that Duty and Service she might have justly expected at his hands. *Tullus* most readily espous'd his Quarrel, and by his Advice sent many of the *Volsci* to Rome, upon pretence of seeing some solemn Games at that time celebrated, but with design to make a Breach between the two Nations. These *Volsci* procur'd a Person to go to the Consuls, and accuse the Strangers of having some dangerous Design against the City, which immediately occasion'd an Order from the Consuls, That all Strangers should depart by Sun-set. This Order *Tullus* represented to his Country-men as a Breach of the Peace, and so aggravated the Matter, that he procur'd 'em to send to Rome, to demand all the Towns and Territories which the *Romans* had taken from 'em. The Senate receiv'd this Message with great Scorn, telling them, That if the *Volsci* were the first that took up Arms, the *Romans* would be the last that shou'd lay 'em down. Upon which Answer the *Volsci* made all necessary Preparations for War.

Coriolanus, together with *Tullus*, was made General of the *Volsci*, and accordingly invaded the *Roman* Territories, ravaging and laying waste all such Lands as belong'd to the *Plebeians*, but not suffering those of the Nobility to be injur'd in any part. This rais'd new Commotions between the Nobility and Commons; the former upbraiding the latter with Ingratitude to

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so considerable and deserving a Person ; and the latter charging the other with Treachery to their Country, and saying, *It was by their Procurement that he invaded their Dominions.* Coriolanus returning with his Men richly laden with Booty, was sent out soon after with the sole Command of half the Forces, and taking *Circæum*, a Roman Colony, he then fell upon the *Latines*, who immediately sent to *Rome* for Succour ; but the Commons Averseness to the Wars, and the approaching End of the present Consuls Office, render'd their Message of no Effect. But Coriolanus still proceeded with great Success, taking *Tolerium*, *Lavici*, *Pes*, and *Bola*, all by Storm, plundering them, and making the Inhabitants Prisoners of War. Such as yielded he treated mildly, others he put to the Sword ; and the *Volsi* now so admir'd his extraordinary Courage and Conduct, that they left their Towns bare, flocking in great Numbers to him, and owning him for their sole Commander. At *Rome* there was nothing but Confusion and Despair, and all the Peoples Satisfaction was by venting their Rage against one another ; but soon after, when News was brought that *Lavinium* was invested, the Commons all cry'd out, *That Coriolanus was to be restor'd, and his Banishment repeal'd.* The Senate utterly refus'd to assent to this, either out of desire to oppose the People in all things, or out of Scorn to have his Restoration ascribed to the Commons, or else out of a just Indignation against Coriolanus, who was now become an open Enemy to all his Country in general.

Coriolanus understanding the Dissentions of the City, immediately rose up from before *Lavinium*, and advancing towards *Rome*, encamp'd at *Clulius's Ditch*, five Miles from the City. This struck the Romans with such a Terror, that now both Senate and People unanimously agreed to send Ambassadors to him with Proposals of Restoration. The Ambassadors behav'd themselves with all possible Respect ; notwithstanding

withstanding which, and their being *Patritians*, and his choicest Friends, he receiv'd 'em with all the Sternness and Severity of a most injur'd Person; and in a Council of War made Answer, *That if they hop'd for Peace, they must immediately restore all the Towns and Territories taken from the Volsci; and make 'em Free of the City as the Latines were; and for that he wou'd give 'em thirty Days to consider of it. And this he spoke as he was General of the Volsci, and not as he was a Roman; ungratefully us'd, and barbarously treated by his own Country-men.* This Space of Time he employ'd in subduing seven great and strong Towns; and at the End of it, another Embassy was dispatch'd to him, declaring, *That they were still Romans, and that neither Constraint nor Fear should influence their Souls to stoop to any thing that is base, but desire him to draw off his Troops, and consult in common. And that if he thought the Volsci were to be gratify'd, they wou'd yield to him, provided they wou'd lay down their Arms.* Coriolanus, a little more moderate, reply'd, *That now he behav'd himself not as a General of the Volsci, but as a Roman Citizen, and desir'd, that having a Respect to Interest and Moderation, they wou'd return in three Days with a Grant of his former Demands, or else he must proceed in his Enterprize.* The Senate being reduc'd to this Extremity, their Courages began to fail 'em, and, as their last Remedy, order'd all the Pontifices, Priests, Governours of Religious Houses, and Augurs, all in their proper Ornaments and Habits, to go in solemn Procession, and humbly to beg for an Accommodation. But this Pompous Train, with all their earnest Prayers and Supplications, did not in the least move Coriolanus; he still insisting, *That they shou'd either accept of his Proposals, or else they must expect the utmost Severity of War and Bloodshed.*

Upon the Return of the Priests, the whole City was full of Tumults, Trembling, and Amazement, the Men running in Disorder to the Walls, and the Women in Confusion to the Temples, especially to that of
Jupiter.

Jupiter in the Capitol. Among which, was *Valeria*, *Poplicola's* Sister, who put them in mind of going to *Veturia*, *Coriolanus's* Mother, with his Wife *Volumnia*, to get them to intercede for their Country. *Veturia* was very ready to undertake so pious a Work, tho' with little hopes of succeeding; and thereupon set forward accompany'd with many of these Ladies, her Daughter-in-law, and her two Grand-children. *Coriolanus* discovering this mournful Company, fully resolv'd to give 'em a Denial; but perceiving his Mother among 'em, immediately descended from his Tribunal, and went to meet her; courteously receiving her with his Wife and Children, and carefully listning to her Petition, which she urg'd with all the Skill and Rhetorick she cou'd, from the consideration of the impending Ruin of his Country, and of the certain Infamy which he wou'd incur if victorious, and the unavoidable Dishonour he wou'd receive, if he were successless in his Attempts. But this not prevailing, she put him in mind, *How much the Sacred Ties of Nature and Religion, together with her most tender Education of him in her Widowhood, had engag'd him to Obedience, or at least to a Compliance*: Declaring likewise, *That he shou'd not stir one Foot towards the treading down of his Country, without first trampling upon the dead Body of her who brought him into the World.* And in conclusion, with his Wife and Children, cast her self at his Feet, embracing and kissing 'em, which with the lamentable Sighs and Tears of the fair Train, so far mov'd his great Spirit, that lifting 'em up, and embracing 'em, he cry'd, *O Mother, you have gain'd the Victory, most fortunate for my Country, but most destructive to my self*; and accordingly drew off the *Volsci* into their own Country. *Tullus*, who now envy'd his Glory, represented this Act to the *Volsci* as the highest piece of Treason against 'em, and procur'd him to be cut in pieces, scarce allowing him to speak for himself, as *Dionysius* relates it. This was against the Consent of the greatest part of the *Volsci*, who bury'd him honourably,

ably, adorning his Tomb with Arms and Trophies as a great General, and a famous Warriour, and the *Roman* Women themselves were permitted to mourn for him ten Months, all acknowledging him to be the most Valiant and most Couragious Man in this Age.

III. Great and many Publick Rejoicings were made at *Rome* for *Coriolanus's* Retreat, and the Senate decreed to grant the Women what Honours they wou'd demand, but they only desir'd to have a Chapel dedicated to *Women's Fortune*, built in the same Place where they had deliver'd their Country, which was done at the Publick Charge. The Consuls soon after took the Field with a considerable Army, but had no occasion to use it; for the *Volsci* and *Æqui* joining Forces, had such violent Contests about a General, as they almost ruin'd each other. The Year following the new Consuls, *Aquilius* and *Sicinius*, overthrew one the *Hernici*, and the other the *Volsci*, among whom fell *Tullus* their General. The next Year, the Consuls, *Virginus* and *Cassius* took the Field, the *Æqui* falling to the former, as the *Volsci* and *Hernici* did to the latter: But the *Volsci* immediately begg'd Peace, having lost their best Men in the last Battel; as soon after did the *Hernici*, who now refus'd any longer to contend with the *Romans* for Superiority. *Cassius* having receiv'd Money and Provisions from 'em, as Persons who own'd themselves conquer'd, made a Truce, but referr'd the Articles to the Senate. But the Fathers, after resolving to accept of their Alliance, left the Conditions of the League to *Cassius's* Discretion; who now affecting Sovereignty, and desiring Popularity, granted 'em equal Privileges with the *Latines*, which together with his Triumph lately obtain'd without performing any thing for it, procur'd him much Envy and Hatred.

Cassius now grown insolent by his three Consulships, and his two Triumphs, was resolv'd to push on his Design

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Design of Sovereignty; and the more to gain the Favour of the People, propos'd the Division of some late conquer'd Lands among the meaner Sort, together with such Publick Grounds, which thro' the Neglect of the Magistrates had been seiz'd on by the Rich. Then he recounted to the People his many Services to the State under his three Consulships, insinuating, *That his extraordinary Care and wise Management in those Times, had shewn him no less than sole Governour; and that since he had already taken Charge of the Common-wealth, it was but just and reasonable he shou'd continue to do it.* This Speech, tho' so strongly favouring of Tyranny, wou'd have been far more serviceable to him, had he not brought in the *Latines* and the *Hernici* as Sharers in these Lands, which he did to gain their Favours, tho' with the weakning his Interest with the Common People. This Proposal concerning the Lands, met with many Oppositions in the Senate, created Fears and Jealousies among some, and caus'd various Discourses among others: But the Commons Forwardness, and the Disturbances that were like to follow, caus'd the Senate, after many Debates, to publish *their Resolution for dividing the Lands among the Commons, withal excluding all new Allies and Associates, as having no Reason to expect a Share of what was gain'd before their Times.* This was the Famous *Agrarian Law*, which afterwards occasion'd such Mischiefs and Disturbances; but at present the Promise of it pleas'd the People, and ruin'd *Cassius's* Designs: For the Year after his Consulship, the *Quæstors* set a Day for him to answer to the Charge of aiming at Tyranny, before the People; where he was accus'd of a Multitude of Crimes of that Nature; and notwithstanding his premeditated Orations, his many Services, and the Intercession of all his Friends and Clients in Mourning, he was condemn'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian Rock*, and was strait executed accordingly.

Lex Agraria.

Soon

Soon after his Death, the Commons were very urgent for the Execution of the *Egrarian* Law, which *Cassius* had set on foot ; but the Senate being resolv'd to divert it as much as possible, caus'd the Consuls to prepare for an Expedition. The *Plebeians*, enrag'd at their Disappointment, and the Loss of a Person whom they expected to have been so serviceable to 'em, refus'd to list themselves, the *Tribunes* always protecting 'em from Punishment ; but the Name of a *Dictator*, and their suspecting *Appius* to be the Man, soon frightened 'em into a Compliance ; so *Cornelius*, one of the Consuls, wasted the Territories of the *Veientes*, as *Fabius*, the other did those of the *Æqui*. Not long after, the Commons refusing to list themselves, the Consuls found means to sit in the *Campus Martius*, out of the City, where the *Tribunes* had no Authority ; and there they severely punish'd and fin'd such as did not appear, to the great Mortification of the Popular Faction. A third time the Consuls gain'd their Designs, by getting over one of the *Tribunes* to their side ; a Way they were often forc'd to make use of afterwards. In the mean time, they had several Wars abroad with the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, and soon after the *Veientes* ; there being many Ravages on both sides, with some Battels, but of no great Note or Consequence. At home were greater Contests and Quarrels between the *Consuls* and *Tribunes* concerning this *Agrarian* Law, the former always declining the Execution of it, and the latter as constantly urging it, but with no other Effect than the blowing up of Dissentions, and the increasing of Factions. And this was the troublesome and unhappy State of *Rome* for about five Years together, as may be seen at large in *Dionysius*.

IV. In the midst of these Troubles, when *Fabius* and *Virginus* were Consuls, two Years after *Xerxes's* Expedition into *Greece*, the *Veientes*, by the Assistance of other of the *Hetrurians*, march'd with a powerful
H Army

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Army against the *Romans*. *Virginus* oppos'd 'em with another, but was so overpower'd by 'em, that he had lost his Army, had not *Fabius* come from the *Æqui* with timely Succour, and brought him off. Upon the *Roman* Retreat, the *Veientes* made Incursions almost to the Walls of *Rome*, to the great Injury and Dishonour of the City; and what added more to their Inconveniences, was the Lowness of the Treasury, and the Discontents of the People about the *Agrarian* Law. This reduc'd the Senate to very great Extremities, till at last the whole Family of the *Fabii*, a noble Stock, generously offer'd their Service to be a constant Guard to the Frontiers, without any Charge to the Publick, which was gratefully accepted by the Senate. They were in number 306, which, with their Clients and Friends, made up 4000, all commanded by *Marcus*, the last Year's Consul; and to them was afterwards sent another Company, and *Fabius* the present Consul. These brave Adventurers fortify'd themselves in a Castle, which they call'd *Cremera*, as standing upon a River of the same Name, nigh the Frontiers of the *Veientes*, from which they made great Incursions, and extremely annoy'd the Enemy. The following Year, the *Veientes*, *Volsi*, and *Æqui*, all agreeing upon an Invasion, great Preparations were made by the Senate; *Æmilius*, one Consul, led an Army against the *Veientes*, with whom was join'd *Babius*, as *Pro-Consul*. *Servilius*, the other Consul, led another against the *Volsi*; and *Furius*, a third, against the *Æqui*. The latter soon finish'd his Work; *Servilius* was forc'd to draw out the War at length, but *Æmilius* engag'd the *Veientes* and their Allies, and overthrew 'em; then falling upon their Camp, forc'd 'em to beg Peace; the Conditions of which being left to his Discretion by the Senate, he made a League with 'em upon Terms so little advantageous to the *Romans*, that they gain'd him much Hatred, and lost him the Honour of a Triumph; which so enrag'd

enrag'd him, that he immediately disbanded his Troops, endeavouring still more to incense the Commons against the Senate.

The Year following, when *Horatius* and *Menenius* were Consuls, eleven Cities of *Hetruria* declar'd against the *Veientes* for making Peace without their Consent, and forc'd 'em to break it. Their Pretence against *Rome* was, that the *Fabii* were not drawn off from *Cremera*, upon which they advanc'd towards 'em with a powerful Army; whereupon *Menenius* was order'd against *Hetruria*, and *Horatius* against the *Volsi*. The *Veientes* not daring to attack this valiant Body of the *Fabii* in their Fortrefs, drew 'em out by a Stratagem, causing several Herds of Cattel, and Flocks of Sheep, to be driven to the neighbouring Places, and laying several great Parties in Ambuscade. The Design took, and the *Fabian* Adventurers were all unfortunately cut off; tho' at first by forming themselves into a Wedge, they gain'd the top of a Hill, and there, tho' wholly encompass'd, made an incredible Slaughter of the Enemy. *Livy* says, that none of this Family was left, but only one young Lad, from whom afterwards sprung *Fabius Maximus*: but *Dionysius* much questions this Tradition. The *Veientes*, now Masters of *Cremera*, advanc'd boldly towards the *Roman* Army, which lay encamp'd not far off, and might have reliev'd the *Fabii*: Then taking Advantage of *Menenius*'s Unskilfulness, they possess'd themselves of a Hill nigh his Camp; from whence they straighten'd him so, that he was forc'd to fight upon very unequal Terms, and his Army was much worsted. The *Romans* quitted their Camp, and fled in such Disorder, that had the *Veientes* been mindful of any thing but Plunder, they might have destroy'd 'em all. The next Day they enter'd the *Roman* Territories, and possess'd themselves of the Hill *Janiculus*, two Miles from *Rome*, to the great Damage and Disgrace of the City: But *Horatius*, the other Consul, returning from

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the *Volsci*, overthrew 'em twice, and much eas'd the People, but cou'd not wholly dislodge the Enemy.

The Year following, *Servilius* and *Virginus*, two experienced Warriors, were made Consuls, which gave great Hopes to the People, who were now extremely straiten'd for want of Corn and Trade, which was the more felt by reason of the Populousness of the City; for at the next *Cense*, there appear'd to be 110000 Men of ripe Age, and three times as many Women, Children, Slaves, Merchants, and Artificers. The People were ready upon every Opportunity to seize on the Stores of the Rich; and the Consuls endeavour'd to appease 'em by buying what Corn they cou'd, and causing such as had Corn to expose it to Sale, till their Levies and Troops were compleated. When they had rais'd a sufficient Number of Men, one Night they drew out their Troops from the City, towards the Enemy, and passing the River before Day, unexpectedly fell upon 'em, entirely routed 'em, and clear'd the Hill, they retiring in great Disorder to their own Territories. This Campaign ended, *Menenius*, the last Year's Consul, was call'd to an Account, and severely fin'd for suffering the *Fabii* to be cut off, whom the People so gratefully esteem'd, that they plac'd the Day of their Defeat among the *Nefasti*, or unlucky Days, whereon no Work of great consequence was to be undertaken. The War was still carry'd on, and within two Years after, the *Veientes* were so overpower'd, having been overthrown in Battel, together with their Confederates the *Sabines*, and now closely hemm'd in, that they begg'd Peace of the *Romans*: And having purchas'd Leave to send to the Senate, with a whole Year's Pay for the Consuls Army, and Money for two Months Provision, they obtain'd a Truce for forty Years. Thus ended the War with the *Veientes* after seven Years Contests on both sides.

V. The

V. The following Year, *Æmilius* and *Vopiscus* being Consuls, the old Stirrs about the *Agrarian* Law were reviv'd by *Genutius*, one of the *Tribunes*, who boldly set a Day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the last Year's Consuls, to answer before the People why they did not divide the Lands. This Quarrel had like to have been fatal to the City, had not *Genutius's* sudden Death prevented it; after which, the Sedition might have been quite appeas'd, had the Consuls born their Success with Moderation. But, making new Levies, they offer'd to force one *Volero*, a turbulent Fellow, and formerly an Officer, to list himself for a common Soldier, and upon his refusing, they order'd him to be stapp'd and scourg'd. But *Volero* fled to the *Tribunes*, who protect'd him, and violently exclaim'd against the Tyranny of the Consuls. This diverted the People from the Thoughts of Lands, and rais'd new Quarrels concerning Privileges and Liberty. And the Year after, *Volero* getting to be one of the *Tribunes* himself, the more to retrench the Consular Power, propos'd a Law for holding the Assemblies of *Tribes* instead of that of the *Curia*, call'd *Comitia Curiata*; which was so contriv'd as to take in greater Numbers, and to give the Commons much more Privilege and Power than formerly. This Proposal was much urg'd by the *Plebeians*, but so strongly oppos'd by the *Patritians*, that *Volero* cou'd not accomplish his Design before the Time was expir'd.

The next Year *Volero*, by his mighty Promises, procur'd himself to be made *Tribune* a second time; and the Senate, to balance him, got *Appius Claudius*, the Son of *Appius*; now absent, to be made Consul, tho' against his Will, and with him *Quintius Capitolinus*, who hapned to be of a contrary Temper. *Appius* in a Publick Assembly oppos'd the Commons Designs so hotly and violently, and so sharply reprimanded them for their rude Actions and seditious Practices, that the *Tribunes* saucily commanded him to depart the Assembly;

and upon his Refusal, to be sent to Prison. This Piece of Boldness was so surprizing to the Fathers, that all were ready to rise up in Arms, and the *Lictors* were beaten back that went to lay Hands on him; he being defended by a Company of stout young Men, an unseemly Contest ensu'd, which beginning with Railings and Jostlings, proceeded to Blows and throwing of Stones. But *Quintius*, the other Consul, by his Intreaties, and throwing himself into the middle, and, by the help of the graver Senators, prevented the Tumult from proceeding to any further Inconveniences, which was ended shortly after by the Night. But all Disturbances did not end here; for within a few Days after, the *Tribunes* and the People seiz'd on the *Capitol*, and there fortify'd themselves against the *Patritians*. This might have been of the most dangerous Consequence, had not *Quintius*, by his mild Intreaties and fair Promises, persuaded the *Tribunes* to refer this Law to the Senate's Discretion; which, after many long Debates, permitted it to be put to the *Comitia*, and so it was pass'd.

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*Comitia
Tributa.*

This was call'd the *Comitia Tributa*, where all the Free Romans voted according to their Tribes: Whereas in the *Comitia Curiata*, none cou'd vote but Inhabitants of Rome; in the *Comitia Centuriata*, the rich Men had the Advantage, by reason of their Number of Centuries; but in this *Comitia Tributa*, there was no respect of either of these Qualifications, but all Free Romans in or without the City, Poor or Rich, might have Voices. Another Difference between this and the *Curiata Comitia*, was the Place of Assembly; that being ty'd to the *Comitium* in the *Forum Romanum*, and that with the superstitious Observations of Birds call'd *Auspicia*; but this *Tributa* was ty'd to no set Place, being assembled in a great many several, without any Observation of Birds. But the most material Difference between these two *Comitia's*, was this;

this ; in this *Curia* such things were treated of, and confirm'd by the Suffrages of the *Curia*, as the *Senate* had first decreed ; but in the *Tributa*, all things were manag'd without any consulting of the *Senate*, and were wholly determin'd by the Votes of the *Tribes* gather'd apart. The Matters that were manag'd here, were chiefly, *The chusing of inferior Magistrates, as the Tribunes, Ædiles, Priests, &c. making of those Laws call'd Plebiscita, or whatsoever should concern the Commons ; as also the Punishment of Misdemeanours ; but not as to Life and Death ; and the making Peace, but not War.* This new Law gave the Commons still more Power and Authority, and made 'em still more bold and insolent, to the danger of many a *Patritian*, and to the Ruin of *Appius*, whose ill Success against the *Volsci* this same Year, and his violent opposing the *Agrarian Law* the next, made the *Tribunes* set him a Day to answer for his Life before the People, which he prevented by killing himself.

VI. Still the *Romans* had War with the *Æqui*, *Sabines*, and *Volsci*, and had generally the Advantage. From the *Volsci* was taken *Antium*, a considerable City on the Sea, 28 Miles South East of *Rome*, which they made a *Roman Colony*. For nine Years together, none of these got any considerable Advantage over the *Romans* ; tho' in the midst of these Wars, there happen'd a most grievous Plague in *Rome*, which swept away an innumerable Company of the Slaves, a fourth Part of the Senators, both the Consuls, and most of the *Tribunes*. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* were at last much weaken'd, their Territories greatly wasted, and *Lucretius* and *Veturius*, the Consuls, obtain'd one a *Triumph*, and the other an *Ovation* over 'em. The Year after this, and of the City 292, *Volumnius* and *Camerinus*, the Consuls, having no Action abroad, employ'd themselves at home against the exorbitant Power of the *Tribunes*, who were now got to that height of Boldness as to

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assert, *That the Citizens ought all to have equal Power in the Government*; they likewise made great Complaints, that the *Roman Laws* were yet unwritten, and thereupon propos'd a Law to have ten Men chosen in a lawful Assembly, to publish Laws, both concerning all Private and Publick Business. The young *Patritians* furiously oppos'd their Designs, casting the meaner sort like Slaves out of the *Forum*. Among these, *Cæso Quintius*, the Son of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, was Principal, a Person of great Courage, whom the *Tribunes* resolv'd to make an Example to all young Men, and therefore set him a Day to answer for his Life before the People, which caus'd new Stirs and Commotions. *Cæso* being admitted to Bail, fled into *Hetruria*; whereupon his Father sold almost all his Estate to reimburse the Sureties, and then retreating to a small Farm, and a little Cottage beyond the *Tiber*, liv'd retir'd from the World, labouriously working for his Living.

The *Tribunes* were much deceiv'd in their Expectations, and the young *Patritians* so hotly oppos'd 'em, that they could act nothing of consequence this Consulship. The next Year the same *Tribunes* being chosen again, they caus'd various Rumours to be spread abroad, *That many of the Senators and Patritians had form'd a Plot, and conspir'd to murder the Tribunes, and ruin all the Authority of the Plebeians*. This Contrivance was design'd to fright the Senate into a Compliance, but had no other Effects than the causing great Tumults and Disturbances among the Commons. These Troubles were so great as to give occasion to *Herdonius*, a *Sabine*, with 4000 Men, to seize on the *Capitol*, calling in the Slaves to their Liberty, which put the whole City into a great Consternation, all being in a Confusion. *Valerius* and *Claudius* were then Consuls, and the *Tribunes* persuaded the Multitude not to fight, except the *Patritians* wou'd engage by Oath to create Ten Men for making of Laws, and suffer the Commons to have equal Privileges with them. *Cla-*
udius

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claudius wou'd have wholly slighted their Assistance, but *Valerius* finding such pressing necessity for 'em, promis'd upon Oath to endeavour to satisfy the Desire of the Commons when the War was ended. Whereupon *Claudius* was appointed to look to the City, and *Valerius* valiantly attack'd the *Capitol* on all sides, and took it by Storm, but with the Loss of his Life; the Slaves being punish'd according to their Deserts, and the rest made Prisoners of War.

This War finish'd, the *Tribunes* requir'd *Claudius* to make good the Promise of his deceas'd Colleague; but he alledg'd, *He cou'd do nothing himself*, and appointed the *Comitia* for the chusing a new Consul. The Fathers, the better to support their Interest, resolv'd upon *Quintius Cincinnatus*, Father to *Cassio*, lately fled; and immediately sent for him to the City. The Messengers found him hard at Plow, only in his Truss, and a Cap on his Head; but being told of their coming, by a *Viator* that ran before, he presented himself in a better Habit. Being saluted by the Name of *Consul*, invested with Purple, honour'd by the *Fasces* and other Ensigns of Magistracy, he was desir'd to begin his Journey; but after a little Pause he answer'd with Tears, *Then for this Year my poor little Field must go unsown, and we shall be in danger of Want*. After this, taking his Leave of his Wife, he departed for the City. There *Quintius*, partly by Cunning, and partly by Threats, restrain'd the *Tribunes* from preferring the Law, and carry'd himself so as to be a Terror to the Multitude whenever they refus'd to list themselves, and their greatest Encourager when their Behaviour was such as deserv'd it. He perform'd his Office with that Prudence and Justice, and likewise with that Civility and Courtesy, that the Commons were now of Opinion, that they stood in no need of new Laws: Then having finish'd his Consulship, he, to the Concern of the whole Senate, betook himself to his little Cottage,

tage, and his former laborious course of Life. The Year following, the *Æqui* surpriz'd *Tusculum*, but were worsted by the *Romans*, together with their Friends the *Volsci*, and were forc'd to beg Peace: And in this Year there were found 119000 Free Citizens, according to *Eutropius*.

In the next Consulship, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were drawn to revolt by *Gracchus Clælius*, a ruling Man among 'em, who by his Industry so hemm'd in and block'd up the *Roman* Army, that it was in great danger of being lost. This put the City into a great Consternation, so that they were glad to have recourse to a *Dictator*, and *Quintius Cincinnatus* was immediately resolv'd upon. The Messengers found him sweating and labouring as before; but he seeing himself made *Dictator* by the 24 *Axes*, the Purple, the *Horses*, and other Royal *Ensigns*, was so far from being pleas'd with the Honour, that he said with great Concern, *This Year's Crop will also be lost, and my poor Family must be starv'd.* At his entering the City, he encouraged the People what he cou'd, and chose *Tarquinius* for his *Master of the Horse*; then drawing out his *Troops*, he fell upon *Clælius*, and forc'd him into his *Intrenchments*, and besieging him awhile, brought his whole Army to his Mercy, who were forc'd to yield at Discretion. They were all made Prisoners of War; and in token of Servitude, *Quintius* made 'em pass under the *Jugum*, which was two Spears set up, with a third cross, like a Gallows; and likewise made 'em deliver up *Corbio*. He order'd the choicest Plunder for *Rome*, and the rest to be given to his Soldiers, then returned to the City with a more magnificent Triumph than any before him, having defeated a powerful Army, and plunder'd and fortify'd a City of the Enemy, within fourteen Days after his Creation. He immediately resigned his Office, and when the Senate and his private Friends wou'd have enrich'd him with Publick Lands, Plunder, and Contributions, he utterly

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terly refus'd all, betaking himself again to his Cottage, and his old course of Life; which is one great Instance of the Abstinence of the *Romans* at that time. The Year following the *Sabines*, with the *Æqui*, retook *Corbio*, against whom, when Levies were to be made, the *Tribunes*, who were all created a fourth time, withstood them again. Whereupon the Fathers, with weeping Eyes, made use of Intreaties, offering to go in their own Persons, if they refus'd; which so sensibly mov'd the People, *That they promis'd all manner of Obedience, if they wou'd permit the Number of their Tribunes to be increas'd to Ten:* Which the Senate, after some Debates, granted; reasonably supposing, that their Number would prove the most probable means to divide 'em; but then with this *Proviso*, as *Livy* says, *That they should never chuse the same Tribunes twice.* This done, Levies were made, and a successful War was carried on against the *Sabines* and *Æqui*.

*Tribunes
increas'd.*

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VII. The Domestick Troubles seem'd for a while to be allay'd; but in a Year's time, the *Tribunes* uniting all together, made farther Incroachments than ever, and ventur'd so far as to assemble the Senate by their own proper Authority; moreover requiring Mount *Aventine* for the People to build on, which being a Mile and half in compass, was not yet fully inhabited, but Common, and full of Wood. The Senate, after most violent Quarrels on both sides, out of hopes it might be a means to suppress the *Agrarian* Seditions, granted those Parts that were Common to the People, who spent the remaining part of the Year in Building, to the considerable Increase of the City. This Grant satisfy'd the Commons but for a short time; for the next Year their former Complaints were renew'd, and carry'd on with all the violent Heats and Animosities that cou'd be imagin'd, often proceeding to Blows; till at last the *Tribunes* having

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thrown

thrown off all Respect and Reverence, insolently set a Day to the Consuls themselves to answer before the People. But this appear'd so odious to many, that they were prevail'd upon to let such a Matter fall, as being most dangerous both to themselves, and the whole State of Rome. But at the same time they made a firm Resolution to prefer the *Agrarian* Law, which they agreed to do in the next Assembly, and for that Reason they appointed a Day apart for the *Comitia*.

At this Assembly were gather'd together great Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities; where the *Tribunes* having spoken very largely on that Subject, several of the *Plebeians* related what good Services they had done the Commonwealth, and how little Reward they had for their Pains; among which was *Siccius Denatus*, a Man of admirable Shape and Courage, 58 Years of Age, and well furnish'd with Military Eloquence for a seditious Attempt, who told 'em, *He had serv'd his Country in the Wars forty Years, had been an Officer thirty, first a Centurion, then a Tribune; had fought one hundred and twenty Battels, in which, by the Force of his single Arm, he had sav'd many Patri-tians Lives, recover'd several Standards, perform'd many great and dangerous Exploits, gain'd 14 Civick Crowns, 3 Mural Crowns, and 8 Golden Crowns; besides 83 Golden Chains, 60 Golden Bracelets, 18 pure Spears, and 23 Horse-Trappings, whereof 9 were for killing Enemies challeng'd to single Combats: Moreover he had receiv'd 45 Wounds, all before, and none behind, particularly twelve in that Day the Capitol was recover'd: Yet notwithstanding he had fought so many Years, serv'd in so many Expeditions, receiv'd so many Wounds, help'd to gain so many large Territories for his Country, and had spar'd no Cost or Labour, nor refus'd any Danger or Difficulty; yet neither he, nor any of his Fellow-sharers in his Dangers, had receiv'd the least Portion of those Lands they had gain'd by their Swords, but that they were possess'd by others who had not the least Title or Merit to shew for 'em; and to such too,*
whose

whose private Attempts, and sinister Ends, better entitled 'em to a disgraceful Punishment, than to any Publick Reward. These Particulars he urg'd at large, withal accusing the *Patritians* of many Designs against the Privileges of the People, and the Publick Peace of the City; which he did with such Rhetorick and Cunning, that the Commons were almost transport-ed with the Man. Yet still the *Patritians*, by their wonderful Prudence and cautious Management, tho' with extreme Hazard to themselves, so far defeated their Designs, that the Law could not be pass'd.

These Disturbances were a little diverted by the Enemies March as far as *Tusculum*, against whom *Siccius* went a Volunteer, where the Consuls put him upon a most desperate Attempt, which gain'd him the highest Honour, instead of procuring his Ruin, as they imagin'd it would have done. A notable Victory was gain'd over the *Æqui* by his means, and he reveng'd himself upon the Consuls, by preventing their Triumph this Year, and by getting 'em fin'd the next, when he himself was made one of the *Tribunes*. Upon which a Law pass'd in the *Centuriata Comitia*, That, all Magistrates should have Power to punish such as violated their Authority, (which before was only the Privilege of the Consuls) but not by any Fine exceeding two Oxen, or thirty Sheep; which Law was long observ'd by the Romans. This new Law pleas'd the People, and all now being a little more moderate, the whole Body of Rome began to consider of Ways and Methods to settle the Government more firmly, and to prevent all dangerous Feuds for the future; thereupon it was agreed, That Ambassadors shou'd be sent to the *Greek Cities* in *Italy*, and to *Athens*, to bring such Laws from thence as were most excellent, and most convenient for the Good of the Commonwealth.

For this great Design, *Posthumius*, *Sulpitius*, and *Manlius*, were fix'd upon, and Gallies assign'd for their use,

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use, suitable to the Majesty of the *Roman* People. The Year following, there happen'd a great Famine, and a most grievous Plague, to the great Damage of the City: And the Year after, the Ambassadors return'd out of *Greece* with their Laws; presently after which the *Tribunes* requir'd, that Law-makers might be appointed; and after many grave and prudent Debates, and some Opposition, it was granted. The Method that they all agreed upon, was, *That Ten Men out of the chief of the Senate, shou'd be elected, whose Power continuing for a Year, shou'd be the same with that of Kings and Consuls, and that without any Appeal; that all other Magistracies shou'd lay down their Authorities till they might be renew'd according to the Laws.* This was agreed on by the Senate, and confirm'd by the People; and the Consuls elect immediately resigning their Office, were made part of the *Decemvirate*; and also the *Tribunes, Ædiles, Quæstors, &c.* were divested of all Power and Authority. This was a most remarkable Change of Government, as great as that from Kings to Consuls, and was the second sort of Intermision of the *Consular Power*, which happen'd in the second Year of the 82d *Olympiad*, 302 Years after the Building of the City, 57 after the Banishment of *Tarquin*, 30 after *Xerxes's* Expedition into *Greece*, and 450 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. IV.

From the Creation of the Decemviri, to the Third Intermision of the Consular Power by the Military Tribunes.

Containing the Space of 8 Years.

U. C. I. **T**HE Ten Persons chosen by the *Centuriata Comitia* for this high Office, were *Appius* and *Genu-*
 302. *Decemviri. tius*, the late Consuls elect; *Posthumius, Sulpitius*, and
Man-

Manius, the three Ambassadors ; *Sextus* and *Romulus*, former Consuls ; with *Julius*, *Veturius*, and *Horatius*, all Senators. These being invested with almost absolute Power, agreed that only one of them at one time should have the *Fasces* and other *Consular Ensigns*, to which they were to succeed by turns, for a certain limited time, till the Year came about. And he whole turn it was for the time being, assembled the Senate, confirm'd the Decrees, and did all other things that belong'd to a chief Magistrate to do ; the rest, to avoid Envy and Suspicion, differ'd little in Habit from private Persons, having only an *Accensus*, or a sort of Beadle going before 'em. These great Men for a time manag'd all things with such Justice and Moderation, that the Commonwealth seem'd most happy under 'em ; and *Appius* above the rest grew exceeding popular, carrying away the chief Praise from the whole College, having indeed greater, and more secret Designs than the rest. At length, having made a Model out of such Laws as were brought from *Greece* and their own Country's Customs, they expos'd 'em to the View of all Men, in ten Tables, that any one might make Exceptions. When all were approv'd of, a *Senatus Consultum* pass'd *nemine contradicente*, for the ratifying of these Laws ; and the Question being put to the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, they were most religiously and ceremoniously confirm'd in the Presence of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and *Priests* ; then they were engraven in Brass, (some say Ivory) and plac'd for publick View in the most conspicuous Parts of the *Forum*.

The Year being almost expir'd, the *Decemviri* mov'd the Senate for a continuance of this Office ; and after great Debate, it was resolv'd by them, to have the same kind of Magistracy for the following Year, because something seem'd yet wanting to the new Model ; but especially because this Office suspended the *Tribuneship* ; which had been an intolerable Burden to
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the State. A *Comitia* was appointed on purpose, where the most Ancient and Honourable of the Fathers stood for this Office, fearing if it fell into the Hands of turbulent Persons, it might prove very dangerous to the Peace of the Commonwealth. *Appius* had now gain'd the Hearts of the People, and his Behaviour and Actions were extoll'd to the Skies, therefore they labour'd earnestly to retain him in his Place; but he cunningly desir'd to be excus'd the undertaking such a troublesome and ungrateful Work. But at last, overcome as it were by the Intreaties of the People, he plac'd himself among the *Candidates*; where by a crafty Insinuation of his own Services, and a malicious Accusation of the other *Patritians*, as owing him a Spite for his publick Spirit, he not only made way for himself, but for his Friends too. He procur'd to be chosen with himself, *Fabius*, a former Consul; *Cornelius*, *Servilius*, *Murcius*, *Antonius* and *Rabulius*, all *Patritians*; and *Petilius*, *Duellius*, and *Oppius*, all *Plebeians*; whom he took in, the more to ingratiate himself with the Rabble, saying, *It was very just that the Commons shou'd have a Share in that Magistracy which was to govern and command all.*

On the first Day after their Creation, they all made their Appearance with Regal Ensigns, which exceedingly terrify'd the People, especially the *Axes* now added again to the *Rods*, which *Poplicola* had laid aside; to prevent the Dissatisfaction of the Common Sort. The first thing the *Decemviri* did, was their promising each other by Oath, *To be of one Mind; to retain the Power in their own Hands; to be of equal Authority among themselves; and to admit none into their Number; never to make use of Senatus Consultums and Plebiscitums, but in case of Necessity, acting most things by vertue of their own Power.* These things they observ'd with great exactness; nothing valuing the *Roman Senate and People*; and exercising their Authority with all Licentiousness: By which means
it

it came to pass, that they being both Legislators and Judges, many Citizens were unjustly put to Death, and others illegally depriv'd of their Estates: whose Causes they all formerly judg'd, that they might make the greater Shew and Pretence of Justice. Accusers were suborn'd out of their Dependents, each one affording all Assistance herein to his Colleague; and such Private Persons as had Suits depending, had no other way to secure their Causes, but by joining themselves with the Judges Party, so that in a short time most of the Citizens were also corrupted. And such as were most offended at the Extravagancy of the *Decemviri's* Actions, withdrew themselves, waiting for a new Creation of Magistrates.

One very memorable thing was done by 'em this Year, which was, their adding two Tables of Law to the ten that were made the Year before; whereof one forbad all Marriages between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*. These two, together with the other ten, always went by the Name of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, being much talk'd of by many Authors, and extremely commended by *Cicero*, as containing Matters of the greatest Policy, and excelling the Libraries of all the Philosophers. They were divided into three Parts, whereof the first contain'd what belong'd to the Religion of the *Romans*; the second, what concern'd the Publick; and the third, the Rights of private Persons. These Laws being establish'd, it necessarily follow'd, that Disputations and Controversies wou'd arise, which requir'd the Interpretation and Determination of the Learned. Now this Interpretation, or this unwritten Law fram'd by the Learned, was call'd by the common Name of *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*. Besides, certain Cases were compos'd out of these Laws almost at the same time; which Cases, lest the People shou'd make 'em at their Pleasure, were to be certain and solemn; and this part of Law was call'd *Actiones Juris*, or *Cases at Law*: So that almost at the

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The
Twelve
Tables.

Jus Civile;

*Actiones
Juris.*

Plebiscitum.

Jus Honorarium.

Senatus Consultum.

Principalis Constitutio.

same time arose these three sorts of Law ; namely, the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, call'd barely *Leges*, the *Civil Law*, and the *Cases at Law*. The rest of the *Roman Laws* that were either before or after these, according to *Pomponius*, were of these sorts ; namely, a *Plebiscitum*, made by the Commons without the Authority of the Fathers ; or an *Edict* of a Magistrate, call'd *Jus Honorarium* ; or an Ordinance of the Senate by their sole Authority, call'd *Senatus Consultum* ; or, lastly, that call'd *Principalis Constitutio*, which was enacted by the Prince or the Emperor.

But to return to the *Decemviri*, who now neither regarded the Approbation of Senate nor People ; but in a meer Arbitrary Way continu'd themselves in Power for the Year following, which was the third of the *Decemvirate*. They so manag'd the Affairs, that in a short time even the most considerable of the Citizens, *Patritians* and others, were either murther'd or forc'd to quit the City. At the same time the *Sabines* and *Æqui* began to invade the *Roman* and *Latine Territories*, which did not a little startle the *Decemviri*, because they found no means of Resistance without first assembling the Senate, which had been laid aside for some considerable time. At this pressing Juncture a Senate was at last call'd, where *Appius* in a premeditated Oration propounding the Business of the War : Upon which, *Valerius*, the Grandson of *Poplicola*, first stood up, and tho' *Appius* commanded him to forbear, violently exclaim'd against the Tyranny of the present Usurpers. He being forc'd to Silence, was seconded by *Marcus Horatius*, Grandson of *Poplicola's* Colleague, who having express'd great Indignation against the *Decemviri*, threaten'd to have him cast headlong down the *Tarpeian Rock*. All the Senators exclaim'd against this, as the highest Breach of their Privileges, and an intolerable Piece of Injustice : Whereat the Ten, a little repenting this Rashness, began to excuse themselves, saying, *They hinder'd none of the Liberty of*
speaking

speaking to the matter propounded, but interrupted all seditious Orations, which they might do by the Power of Consuls and Tribunes receiv'd from the People, not for a Year, or any limited time, but till the great Work of the Laws shou'd be finish'd; until which they were resolv'd to act, and wou'd then give an Account of their Administration.

The Design of Tyranny and Slavery, too openly appear'd under this Veil; whereupon *Claudius*, *Appius's* Uncle, stood up, and very handsomely expos'd the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Carriage of his Nephew and nine Companions; plainly demonstrating, that this War was solely occasion'd by the present Distempers of the State; withal advising the Senators to resolve nothing till the accusom'd Magistrates were first created. Many of the younger Sort were of Opinion, that the present Urgency requir'd the War to be committed to the Management of the *Decemviri*; and others were for creating a *Dictator*, which Opinion had the most plausible Appearance of any: So that the House was very much divided; many, out of fear either of the *Decemviri*, or the Enemies, having alter'd their first Intentions. *Appius* took Advantage of these Divisions, and look'd upon his own Parties Votes as a sufficient Determination; whereupon he immediately commanded the Clerk to draw up a *Senatus Consultum*, whereby full Power of levying Forces, and commanding them, was given to the *Decemviri*; and straight the Senate was dismiss'd, to the great Dissatisfaction of many. This new way of proceeding made *Horatius* and *Valerius* stand upon their own Defence, gathering together their Clients and Dependents; and caus'd *Claudius* to go over to the *Sabines*, where he liv'd. And notwithstanding all the Care and Provision of the *Decemviri*, great Multitudes follow'd his Example, leaving their native Seats, with their Wives and Children, and went into a voluntary Exile.

II. The *Decemviri* divided their Army into three
I 2 Parts,

Legatus.

Parts, whereof one continu'd with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the City; and the other two were commanded by their Collegues, one against the *Æqui*, and the other against the *Sabines*. The *Æqui* forc'd the *Romans* to abandon their Camp, and fly shamefully; which caus'd great Joy in *Rome* among the Enemies of the *Decemviri*: So that *Appius* fearing some Attempt, wrote to his Collegues in the Army, to destroy their known Adversaries by any means, which was effected upon several. But at *Rome*, among many others, *Siccius Dentatus*, the *Roman Achilles*, as he was called, blam'd the Commanders as Cowards and unskilful; whereupon *Appius*, to secure him with good Words, perswaded him to go as Lieutenant, or *Legatus*, to the Army, then lying at *Crustumeria*, against the *Sabines*. *Siccius*, without any Suspicion or Distrust, undertook the Employment; for the Office of *Legatus* was most sacred and honourable among the *Romans*, having the Power and Authority of a General, and the Inviolableness and Veneration of a Priest. Upon his Arrival at the Camp, he was sent out with a Party of 100 Men, who had strict Orders to murder him; where he shew'd such incredible Strength and Valour, that he kill'd fifteen of 'em himself, and wounded twice as many, as *Dionysius* relates it; so that at length they were forc'd to throw Darts and Stones at him, keeping some distance, and by that means effected their Design. The Assassins gave out that he fell into the Enemies Hands; but the Soldiers easily perceiving the Villany, began to grow more mutinous; and the *Decemviri*, to appease 'em, gave *Siccius* a very honourable Burial, which was perform'd with much Ceremony, and an universal Sorrow among the Soldiers, who from that time thought upon nothing but a Revolt; which the other Army, lying at *Algedum* against the *Æqui*, soon after found a fair Opportunity to effect.

It was occasion'd by one *Virginus*, a *Plebeian*, who
had

had a Daughter of most admirable Beauty, and of as eminent Chastity, whom *Appius* saw by chance, and was so extremely smitten with her, that nothing could allay his violent Passion. His own Laws had forbidden him marrying her, as being a *Plebeian*; nor cou'd he hope to enjoy her any other way, but by procuring *Claudius*, one of his *Clients*, to challenge her for his Slave; so that the Matter being brought before him, he might judge her to be so. *Claudius*, according to his Instructions, laid Claim to her; and bringing the Matter to a Trial before *Appius*, he affirm'd, *That she was natural Daughter to his Slave, procur'd by Virginus's Wife, being barren and now dead, and brought up for her own; a thing tho' known to others as well as himself, he had no Opportunity till now to make it appear.* This Pretence was so impudent and groundless, that it rais'd the Indignation of all unconcern'd Persons; and *Numitor*, the Maid's Uncle, with *Icilius*, who was contr. ctad to her, sufficiently prov'd the Falsity of the Assertion. But *Appius*, resolutely bent upon his lustful and base Design, would hear no Reason, nor mind any Proof; till at last the loud Cries and Murmurs of the Multitude prevail'd with him to defer the Matter till her Father could be sent for from the Camp to defend her Cause, for which he would allow but one Day. He immediately wrote to *Algedum* at the Camp to confine *Virginus*; but *Numitor* and *Icilius's* Brother intercepted the Letters, and *Virginus* pretending the Death of a near Relation, got leave to leave the Camp, and came posting to the City.

The next Day *Virginus* appear'd at the Place, to the great Surprize of *Appius*, he and his Daughter both in Mourning, accompany'd with several weeping Matrons, and a numerous Train of Advocates, the whole City crowding into the *Forum*, *Virginus* prov'd the Maid to be his own Daughter; but *Appius*, corrupted by the Greatness of his Power, and inflam'd with the Heat of his Lust, neither consider'd the just

Defence of the Father, nor the bitter Tears of the poor Virgin; but was enrag'd at the Pity of the Standers-by, thinking himself a greater Object of Pity, who endured more for her Beauty's sake than she herself did. He interrupted all that pleaded in her behalf, commanding their Silence, and straight judg'd *Claudius* to be right Lord and Owner of her. Great Outcries and Lamentations being made, as well by others as the Virgin and her Relations, all knowing she was doom'd to the Tyrant's Lusts, *Appius* commanded all to depart, and order'd *Claudius* to take Possession of his Slave. *Virginus* finding no Relief, desir'd he might speak a Word with his Daughter before he parted from her; which being granted, he dragg'd her hanging about him to a Butcher's Stall hard by, and pitifully bewailing her deplorable Condition; where catching a Knife in his hand, he said, *Daughter, I will send thee to our Ancestors both free and unspotted, for the merciless Tyrant will suffer thee to be neither here; and thereupon* stabb'd her to the Heart: Then casting his angry Eyes up to the Tribunal, he cry'd out, *Appius, thou Tyrant, with this Blood I doom thee to certain Death!* With the bloody Knife in his Hand, in a great Rage and Fury, he ran through the City, wildly calling upon the People in all places to regain their Liberty; and coming to the Gate, rode Post to the Army, a Company of 400 *Plebeians* following him.

In this Posture *Virginus* arriv'd at the Camp, with the Knife and his Clothes all bloody; where with all his Rhetorick and pathetick Reasons he perswaded 'em to revolt from the *Ten*, and redeem their sinking Country; shewing 'em likewise, *That their Sacramentum or Military Oath was no ways binding in this case, because the Oath suppos'd the Commanders to be made according to Law, which the Ten were not, having usurp'd all the Power and Authority they cou'd pretend to.* The Army, ready enough for such a Design, immediately decamp'd, some few *Centurions* only remaining, and took their Station on Mount

Mount *Aventine*; and the next Day, fortifying their Camp, chose ten Captains, whereof one *Oppius* was Chief: And soon after came great Parties from the other Army, who were much offended at the Murder of *Siccus*, and join'd them; and this was the second Separation of the Commons. *Appius* in the mean time having endeavour'd by force to suppress the Disturbances he had rais'd in the City, was so overpower'd by the Parties of *Valerius* and *Horatius*, formerly mention'd, that he was forc'd to keep himself to his House. *Oppius*, one of the *Decemviri*, assembled the Fathers, and urg'd the Punishment of all Deferters; but the Senate was so sensible of the threatening Dangers and Miseries of the State, that they were glad to come to any Agreement with the Soldiers: Therefore, to compose all Differences, they immediately dispatch'd Messengers to the Army, which had lately remov'd to the *Holy Mount*, as they had once done above 40 Years before, where the People demanded to have the same Form of Government as was settled before the Creation of the *Decemviri*, which was readily granted 'em, the People all returning home to the City. Thus in less than three Year's time, ended the famous *Decemvirate*.

III. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were for their Services made Consuls for the remaining part of the Year. These preferr'd divers Laws in favour of the Commons, to the great Regret of the *Patritians*; whereof one was, *That such Laws as the Commons enacted in the Comitia Tributa, should have the same Force as those made in the Comitia Centuriata*; which was a great Advantage to the People. After this, the *Tribunes*, whereof *Virginus* was one, thought it convenient to call the *Decemviri* to an account. *Appius* was committed to Prison, no Bail being allow'd him; but before his Trial, was found dead, but by what means is uncertain. *Oppius*, the next to him in Guilt, was accus'd

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cus'd; and being condemn'd, dy'd the same Day in Prison by his own Hands. The other Eight banish'd themselves, and *Claudius*, the pretended Master of *Virginia*, was driven out after em; with which Justice the State was satisfy'd, and Indemnity granted to all others. Affairs thus settled, the Consuls took the Field against the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Sabines*, and so successfully as to deserve a Triumph; but the Senate gave 'em a Repulse for making Laws so much in favour of the Commons, and so disadvantageous to the *Patritian* Privileges. The Consuls appeal'd to the People, and complaining much of the Senate, by the assistance of the *Tribunes*, procur'd a Law to pass, for receiving the Privilege of Triumph from the People. Thus did the *Plebeian* Power increase daily, each Morsel of the *Patritians* Prerogative serving only to add to their insatiable Appetites.

Little was perform'd by the *Romans* for three Years after, besides the Wars with the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, which were carry'd on with no great Vigour, by reason of the frequent Disputes between the Senate and People; till the Year 308, the Enemy making Ravages and Incurfions to the Walls of *Rome*, put the People upon considering the common Safety of the State, and under the Command of *Quintius* and *Furius*, the Consuls for this Year, they obtain'd a notable Victory over them. This Victory was attended with a remarkable Determination of the *Romans*, between the Inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia*, who had frequent Contests about certain Lands, and had left it to *Rome* to be Judge. One *Scaptius*, an old Commoner of 84 Years old, stood up, and declar'd, That these very Lands by right belong'd formerly to *Corioli*, and consequently to the *Romans*, who ought to have 'em. The Senate were asham'd to determine the thing this way, because it had been left to them to be Judges; but the People, ready to make use of any Advantage, caus'd it to be voted in the *Comitia Tributa*;

buta; where the Lands were adjudged, *To be the publick Possession of the Roman People*, to the great Surprise of the *Ardeans* and *Aricians*, who were forc'd to return home as well satisfy'd as they cou'd.

IV. The *Tribunes* now grew more and more turbulent, and nothing wou'd satisfie the Commons but a Share in the highest Offices, and Places of greatest Trust; and for that Reason they propos'd two Laws, one to permit the Marriages of *Patritians* with *Plebeians*; and the other to make the *Plebeians* capable of the Consulship, which they never were before. The Senators took these Proposals most heinously, seeing their Privileges in danger to be ruin'd, and were resolv'd to endure the utmost Extremities rather than pass these Laws; but finding such violent Commotions in the State, they pass'd the Law about Marriages, in hopes that wou'd satisfie the People, and make 'em not insist upon the other. This appeas'd the Commons for a short space; but soon after, when the *Æqui* and *Sabines* made great Ravages in the *Roman Territories*, they took the Advantage of these Troubles, and utterly refus'd to list themselves, till they were made likewise Partakers of the Consulship, nor cou'd they be prevail'd upon to defer the Matter till the War was over. Upon this the Consuls were forc'd to hold a private Conference of the Chief of the Senators, where, after some Debates, *Claudius* propos'd an Expedient as the most seasonable in this pressing Conjuncture. He advis'd 'em *by no means to suffer the Consulship to come into the Hands of the Plebeians, but to create certain Governours in the Room of Consuls, six or eight, whereof one half at least shou'd be Patritians: For by this means they shou'd seem not to take too much power to themselves, and yet retain all their Prerogative.* This Project extremely pleas'd the whole Meeting; and that nothing might seem to be design'd before-hand, they agreed, That at the next Meet-

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Meeting of the Senate, the Consuls shou'd not ask the Seniors Opinion first, as the Custom was, but the Youngers, and such as were most popular. And *Genutius*, the Consul's Brother, was fix'd upon to propound this way of Reconciliation, purely as his own private Opinion.

Upon the assembling of the Senate, *Canuleius*, the Tribune, upbraided the Consuls with holding of secret Meetings, and of managing dangerous Designs against the State. The Consuls on the other side protested their Innocency, and to demonstrate this more clearly, gave leave to any of the younger sort to speak first, who cou'd not be suppos'd to be acquainted with any private Contrivances, and to *Valerius* in particular. *Valerius* advis'd the Fathers to favour the Commons, *who had so well deserv'd both in gaining of Dominions, and getting and preserving the Liberty of the City*; and urg'd further, *That the City cou'd not be Free till there was an Equality of Right*. *Horatius*, and others, being next ask'd, seconded him, and after that, *Claudius* being desir'd to speak, the better to conceal his Design, according to his old way, broke out into bitter Invectives against the Commons, and advis'd, *That the Law might not pass, neither then nor ever after*. This caus'd some Disturbance, but at last *Genutius* was ask'd his Opinion, who, as it was before design'd, propounded this Expedient to the Senate and People, *That Six Governours should be chosen with Consular Authority, three Patritians, and three Plebeians*; and when the time of their Magistracy shou'd be expir'd, then the Senate and the People might resolve whether they wou'd have the same Office, or that of Consuls for the Year following.

This Project was gladly embrac'd both by the Senate and Commons; and leave was given to any Plebeians to stand for this new Office: Yet so fickle were the Minds of the Multitude, and so pleas'd with the bare Novelty of the thing, that tho' many Plebeians stood

stood for this Office, they thought none of 'em worthy of that Honour, but bestow'd it upon eminent *Patritians* only, who appear'd as *Candidates*. This was the third Intermision of the *Consular Power*, tho' the Authority was equivalent; and likewise the third great Change in *Rome*, which happen'd scarce eight Years after the second, in the 310th of the City, 65 Years after the Expulsion of the Kings, and 442 before our Saviour Christ's Nativity.



C H A P. V.

*From the Creation of the Military Tribunes,
to the Burning of Rome by the Gauls;
which almost ruin'd the Roman Nation.*

Containing the Space of 54 Years.

I. **T**HE *Consuls* being for once more laid aside, these new-mention'd Magistrates succeeded, being call'd by the Name of *Tribuni Militum*, or *Military Tribunes*, three *Patritians* only being chosen, namely, *Sempronius*, *Atratinus*, *Clælius*, *Siculus*, and *Attilius Longus*. Thus at first they were but three in Number, afterwards they were increas'd to four, and at length to six. And tho' these had the Power and Ensigns of *Consuls*, yet their Number, together with the mixture of *Plebeians*, which afterwards press'd in, made their Privilege and Divinity seem something different and inferior: Whence a *Tribune* of the People afterwards, in way of Contempt, call'd them a *Proconsular Image*; and *Manlius* the *Dictator*, shewing that a *Master of the Horse* was inferior to a *Consul*, compar'd his Power to that of these Magistrates. These *Military Tribunes* having held their Office almost

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*Tribuni
Militum.*

most eight Weeks, were constrain'd to lay it down, for that the *Augurs* found some Flaw in their Edition, and *Consuls* were created afresh, *Sempronius* being one: So that in seventy three Days here was another Change of Government, the old one prevailing over the new.

The following Year they procur'd *Consuls* again to be elected, and not *Military Tribunes*, who were *Geganus* and *Quintius*, who had both been *Consuls* before.

U. C. In this Year the *Consuls* finding the Publick Business
311. to increase, to ease themselves, procur'd two new
Censors. Magistrates to be created, call'd *Censors*, so nam'd because the Business of the *Census*, which had been instituted by *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King of *Rome*, was one great part of their Office. These Magistrates at first made no great Appearance, but in a short time they became Persons of extraordinary Dignity and Power, having all the Ornaments and Ensigns of *Consuls*, except *Lictors*. At the beginning, they were created for five Years, which space was call'd *Lustrum*, as was formerly observ'd; but soon after their time was shorten'd to a Year and half; but still they were chosen but once in five Years, the *Census* being no oftner perform'd. Their Power was very large, and their Office very extensive; for tho' at first they only perform'd the *Census*, making an Estimate of Mens Estates, distributing them into their several *Classes* and *Centuries*, taking the Numbers of the Inhabitants, &c. yet in a short time they became Publick Inspectors of Mens Lives and Manners, and were therefore frequently call'd *Magistri Morum*; and took upon 'em to degrade *Senators* upon Misdemeanors, to take away Horse and Ring from *Equites* or *Knights*, and to turn *Plebeians* out of their *Tribes*, and put 'em into a Lower, and many other things of the like Nature. The two first *Censors* were *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, both *Patritians*, and the two last Years *Consuls*; and these high Officers were for nigh 100 Years

Years chosen out of the *Patritians*, and only such as were Eminent and Famous, and had formerly been Consuls, till the *Plebeians* found the way to this, as they did to all other Offices. Afterwards the *Roman Colonies* had their Magistrates, call'd *Sub-Censors*, who gave an Account to these of the Number of Inhabitants, and their Wealth, which was immediately register'd in the *Censors Books*.

The Fathers were extremely satisfy'd that they had got these Magistrates created out of their own Body, and the *Tribunes* esteeming their Power to be inconsiderable, were willing enough to agree to it. In this same Year, the *Ardeans*, as being Allies, sent to the *Romans* for Succour against the *Volsci*, who were call'd in by some dangerous Factions among themselves, and had reduc'd them to great Extremities. The *Romans* were ready to serve the Persons they had so lately injur'd about their Lands, and immediately *Geganus*, the Consul, was sent with a considerable Army against the *Volsci*, and he soon reliev'd the *Ardeans*, and clear'd the Country of the Enemy. This Victory was very memorable, and the Consul had a noble Triumph, *Clulius*, the *Volscian* General, being led before the Chariot. *Ardea* had now been so dispeopled with the Factions, and the late Wars, that they were willing to accept of a *Roman* Colony, which the Senate sent soon after; and to shew a further Piece of Generosity, restor'd all the Lands they had before adjudg'd to the Publick Use, tho' with the great Complaints of many of the Commons.

II. The Heats of the Commons were still kept alive, but for some time were of no dangerous Consequence, till three Years after *Sp. Maelius*, a rich Knight, encourag'd by these Contentions, by his large Bounty to the poorer sort in time of a great Famine, began to affect Popularity, and by that means
to

to aspire to the Sovereignty. His Designs were soon guess'd at, and he was accus'd of this by *Minucius*, who had the Care of the Provisions; which thing in these unsettled times so startled the Senate, that by
Dic. v. Advice of *Quintius* the Consul, they order'd a *Dictator*
U. C. to be immediately created, the Tumult hourly in-
 314. creasing. *Quintius Cincinnatus*, now 80 Years old, was the Person, who chose *Servilius Ahala* for his *Master of the Horse*. The *Dictator* presently summon'd *Mælius* to appear, who being well back'd and supported by the Mob, refused to obey, now breaking out into open Rebellion; whereupon *Ahala* set upon him in the *Forum*, and kill'd him, and was justify'd by *Quintius*, who commanded his Goods to be sold, and his House to be demolish'd. The *Tribunes*, enrag'd at the Death of their great Friend *Mælius*, procur'd *Military Tribunes* instead of *Consuls* to be created for the following Year, now six Years after their first Institution, hoping that some *Plebeian* might get into the Number of Six, which might give 'em an Opportunity of revenging his Death: But Three only were created, all *Patritians* too, and their Expectation wholly unanswer'd

The following Year *Consuls* were created again, and in the same Year *Fidenæ*, a *Roman Colony*, revolted to *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*; and to enhance their Crime, by his Instigation, they treacherously murder'd the Ambassadors sent thither, who dying thus for the Publick, the Senate generously appointed Statues to be erected in their Honour. This War in the beginning prov'd so dangerous, and threatening to the *Romans*, that they were forc'd to
Dic. vi. create a *Dictator* to manage it, *Mamercus Æmilius* be-
U. C. ing the Person, who made choice of *Quintius Cin-*
 316. *cinnatus*, an eminent Youth of the City, for his *Master of the Horse*. *Æmilius*, the *Dictator*, obtain'd a great Victory over the Enemy, in which Battle *Cornelius Cossus*, a *Tribune* in the Army, slew King *To-*
lumnus

lumnus with his own Hands, and by that means obtain'd the Honour of the *Opima Spolia*, or *Royal Spoils*, which were the only Spoils of that nature since the Reign of *Romulus*. These Spoils were a great Grace to *Æmilius's* Triumph, and a great Honour to *Cossus*, they being with extraordinary Pomp and Ceremony consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

Two Years after this, there happen'd a great Plague in the City, and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* press'd so hard upon the *Romans*, that they were forc'd to have recourse to another *Dictator*; and *Servilius Priscus* was created, who chose *Æbutius Elva* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Servilius* was so successful, as not only to drive the Enemy back, but to take the Town of *Fidenæ*, which he did by a Mine. The taking of *Fidenæ* was so disadvantageous to the Enemy, that the *Veientes* sent to all their Neighbours about for Succour, threatening no less than entire Destruction to *Rome*. These formidable Preparations put the *Romans* upon creating another *Dictator*, a little above a Year after the last, which was *Æmilius*, who had been *Dictator* three Years before, and he chose *Posthumius Tubertus* for his *Master of the Horse*. In a short time the *Romans* found that the *Veientes* cou'd procure no Aid, so the *Dictator* had little Employment abroad; but resolving to do something at home, he caus'd the *Censorship* to be reduc'd to a Year and a half, which was eight Years after its first Institution, and then laid down his Office. The *Censors* from this took an Occasion to remove him out of his *Tribe*, which so enrag'd the People, that the next time they procur'd *Military Tribunes* to be brought in again, after there had been *Consuls* four Years: And in this Election, notwithstanding the great Industry of the *Tribunes* of the People, they cou'd not get in one of the *Commons*, which was a great Mortification to the Multitude.

Dic. vii.

U. C.

318.

Dic. viii.

U. C.

319.

At two Years end, the Senate took Occasion from the Wars of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* to bring in Consuls again; and partly for the Enemies great Preparations, and partly for the violent Humour of the *Tribunes* of the People, a *Dictator* was likewise created, tho' against the Consuls Consent. This was *Posthumius Tubero*, who had *Julius Vopiscus* for his *Master of the Horse*, who having finish'd this War successfully, triumph'd, and laid down his Office. For four Years after this, they had Consuls, in which space little was acted abroad or at home; then the Commons prevail'd to have *Military Tribunes* again created, which was now the fifth time, and they had four in Number; but still they cou'd not bring about their Designs. In this Year *Fidenæ* revolted again, and join'd with the *Veientes*; whereupon three of the *Consular Tribunes* were sent against the Enemy, and the fourth left to govern the City. When they proceeded to an Engagement, one of the *Tribunes* cry'd *Charge*, another cry'd *Halt*, all three being of a several Mind, till there was such Confusion, that the *Romans* betook themselves to their Heels and fled; which sufficiently convinc'd them of the Folly of having several Generals in one Army. The City upon this was put into such a Consternation, that immediately a *Dictator* was created, which was *Æmilius*, a third time, who chose *Cossus*, who had obtain'd the last *Opima Spolia*, for his *Master of the Horse*. By the Prudence and Valour of these two, the *Veientes* were overthrown, and *Fidenæ* once more taken and plunder'd: Then *Æmilius* returning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his Office, after he had held it but 17 Days.

Dic. ix.
U. C.
322.

Mil. Tri-
bunes in-
creas'd.

U. C.
326.

Dic. x.
U. C.
327.

For two Years after this, *Military Tribunes* continu'd; at the end of which the Senate took Occasion from the War with the *Volsci*, and the Absence of those Magistrates, to bring in Consuls again, notwithstanding the *Tribunes* of the People oppos'd it as much as possible. But *Sempronius*, one of the Consuls,

mana

managing this War very carelessly, the *Tribunes* from thence took Advantage, and *Military Tribunes* were created again the next Year. This was for one Year, at the end of which the Senate procur'd *Consuls* to be made again, and *Capitolinus*, one of 'em, gain'd Advantage enough over the *Æqui* to procure him an *Ovation*. When this Year was expir'd, there happen'd so great a Contention about two *Quæstors* or *Treasurers*, whom the Commons wou'd have created out of their Body, that the State fell into an *Inter-regnum*. *Papirius* being *Inter-rex*, for a Composure, procur'd *Military Tribunes* to be again admitted, and four *Quæstors* (which was two more than formerly) to be created either out of the *Patritians* or *Plebeians*, as the People shou'd think most proper in their *Comitia*. Notwithstanding this, tho' many of the Commons strive for it, not one of 'em cou'd get to be either *Military Tribune*, or so much as *Quæstor*, which much incens'd the People. In the second Year after this, *Military Tribunes* still continuing, the Slaves conspir'd to fire the City, and seize on the *Capitol*; but the Plot was timely found out, and the Discoverers greatly rewarded. The following Year, the *Æqui* join'd with the People of *Lavicum*, press'd hard upon the *Roman Territories*, and the *Consular Tribunes* quarrelling among themselves for the Superiority, they got great Advantages; insomuch that a *Dictator* was created, which was *Servilius Priscus*, a second time, who chose his Son *Axilla* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Servilius* soon dispatch'd his Business, and laid down his Office, after he had kept it but eight Days.

*Quæstors
increas'd.
U. C.
333.*

*Dic. xi.
U. C.
335.*

After this, for four Years successively, were *Military Tribunes* instead of *Consuls*, till new Contentions arising between the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, tho' partly from old Heart-burnings, and especially upon the account of the *Agrarian Law*, the State fell again into an *Inter-regnum*. *Fabius* being *Inter-rex*, brought in

Quæst.
Plebeian.

U. C.

344.

Dic. xii.

U. C.

345.

Consuls again, which Government continu'd for five Years longer, in which Space of Time not very much was transacted either abroad or at home. In the fifth Year, the Commons being cross'd in their Designs of bringing in *Military Tribunes*, bestir'd themselves so much, as to procure three of the *Quæstors* to be created out of their own Rank, who were the first *Plebeian Quæstors* that ever were in *Rome*. The *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, strengthen'd by Confederacies, made great Ravages in the *Roman Dominions*; and the Commons refusing to list themselves according to their usual Custom, procur'd *Military Tribunes* again, who march'd against the Enemy, but with so little Success, that a *Dictator* was thought necessary to be created. This was *Cornelius Cossus*, formerly mention'd, who appointed *Servilius Ahala* for his *Master of the Horse*, and march'd against the Enemy, overthrew 'em in one Battel, wasted their Country, and then return'd. Two Years after, the *Patritians* and *Plebeians* were in some measure reconcil'd by means of the great Plunder of *Anxur*, or *Terracina*, taken from the *Volsci*; but especially by a Decree of the Senate for the publick Pay of the Army with Brass Money, before which time every Soldier bore his own Charges in the War, as was hinted formerly; and this was the first time of the paying of Soldiers in *Rome*, which happen'd in the 347th Year of the City. The taking of *Anxur*, and some other Places from the *Volsci*, in a short time brought 'em to a Peace; and now the *Roman Dominions* were considerably increas'd.

U. C.

347.

III. About the same time, War was proclaim'd against the *Veientes* with that Resolution, and carry'd on with that Vigour, that it was evident that one of the two Cities must fall. *Veii* was an exceeding large, strong and wealthy City, and had not only been a Rival to *Rome* for many Years, but had always been so

so perfidious, that a full Revenge was necessary. The *Romans* invested the City; but it being seated upon a craggy Rock, they soon found it wou'd cost 'em several Years Siege; so that they were constrain'd to carry it on both Winter and Summer, the Soldiers lying under Beasts-skins. At this the *Tribunes* of the People began to repine, as a thing wholly new and dangerous; complaining likewise of the Payment of Soldiers as an Innovation, and an unjust Artifice to ruin the Commons. And the next Year they got the Number of the *Military Tribunes* to be increas'd from four to six, as it was at first design'd, but still cou'd not procure one *Plebeian* to be elected; and this Number continu'd always for the future. New Stirs daily arose, notwithstanding the great Diversion by War; sometimes upon the account of the little Success against *Veii*, the *Tribunes* blaming the Commanders, and prohibiting the Taxes which had been laid upon the City ever since the Soldiers had receiv'd Pay. About six Years after they renew'd their ancient Contest about the *Agrarian Law*, and carry'd it on so far as to get it promulg'd among themselves, tho' not in the Senate: And in the same Year, after much Trouble and Pains, they procur'd one *Plebeian* to be elected into the *Consular Tribunes*, *Licinius Calvus* being the Person. They extremely applauded themselves for this, it being the first time that the Commons cou'd make themselves Sharers in the highest Offices; and now they most readily permitted the Pay of the Army to be gather'd, all Stirs being for a while laid aside.

Mil. Tribunes increas'd.

U. C.
348.

Mil. Trib. Pleb.

U. C.
353.

The Siege of *Veii* was still carry'd on from Year to Year, but with various Success, and under divers Commanders; sometimes all the Besiegers Works were destroy'd, and the Men driven back with great Loss by Sallies from the Town: Then the *Falisci*, one of the twelve Nations of *Hetruria*, join'd with the *Veientes*, and very much annoy'd the *Romans*, some-

times to the great hazard of their whole Army. Besides, the *Roman* Forces were much diverted by the *Volsi*, who suddenly took *Anxur*; and tho' in no long time it was retaken, yet still it was a great hindrance to the Siege of *Veii*. In the third Year of this Siege, *Furius Camillus*, a Person extraordinary for Courage and Valour, as well as other Excellencies, was made one of the *Censors*. He finding the Wars lay heavy, caus'd the Batchelors to marry the Widows of such as had lost their Lives for their Country; and likewise was the first who oblig'd *Orphans* to pay Taxes. Two Years after he was made one of the *Military Tribunes*, but little fell to his share then. Three Years after that, which was the eighth Year of the Siege, he was a second time made *Military Tribune*, in which time he march'd against the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, both Confederates of the *Veientes*, and great Disturbers of the *Romans* in the Siege, and forc'd them all into their Towns of Defence.

Dic. xiii. The tediousness of the Siege, made the *Romans*
U. C. resolve to carry it on with the utmost Vigour; and
 357. for that reason they created *Camillus* Dictator, and he appointed *Cornelius Scipio* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Camillus* drew out all the Forces he cou'd raise, and made a solemn Vow, that if he took *Veii*, he wou'd dedicate the tenth Part of the Plunder to *Apollo*: Then marching into the Country of the *Falisci*, he overthrew 'em in a great Battel, together with the *Capenates* their Confederates; and after that, he turn'd all his Forces against *Veii*, all People greatly expecting the Event of this important Siege. *Camillus* finding it very hazardous to attempt the storming a Place of that Strength both by Art and Nature, secretly wrought a Mine into it with vast Labour; and finding the City incapable of Relief, sent to the Senate, who order'd all who had a desire to share in the rich Spoils, immediately to repair to the Army,

Army, which caus'd great Multitudes of all Ranks to go thither. *Camillus* at an appointed Time order'd a Party of Men to enter the Mine, who with ease became Masters of the City, to the great Amaze-ment of the Besieg'd. Thus was the rich and strong City of *Veii* taken, like a second *Troy*, after ten Years Siege, which enrich'd the *Romans* with vast Plunder. As for *Camillus* himself, he, transported with the Honour of subduing the great Rival of *Rome*, triumph'd after a more magnificent manner than ordinary, having his Chariot drawn by four Milk-white Steeds; a thing which the *Romans* look'd upon as sacred, and peculiar to the King and Father of the Gods, and therefore they were much offended at his Carriage: And indeed no Man either before or since him ever assum'd so much Honour to himself.

Soon after the taking of *Veii*, the *Tribunes* of the People, who were ever restless, propos'd a Law to divide the *Senate* and *People* into two Parts, whereof one should stay at *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*, and there settle; this Separation, as they imagin'd, being a ready means for the enriching of both by the Possession of two such considerable Cities. The *Plebeians*, now rich as well as numerous, press'd hard for this Division; but the *Patritians* judging it would prove the Ruin of the State, as earnestly oppos'd it, betaking themselves to *Camillus*, who by prudently imploying, and variously diverting the Multitude, with much difficulty put it off, but with the Hatred of many of the Commons. But not long after there happen'd a greater and more apparent Cause of their Hatred to him, occasion'd by his neglecting, either thro' Business or Forgetfulness, while he continu'd *Dictator*, to offer those Tenths of the Spoils of *Veii*, which at the beginning of his Expedition he had vow'd to *Apollo*: When therefore he had laid down his Office, he mov'd the People to restore the Tenths of what they had

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receiv'd;

receiv'd ; and the Priests also reported, that all the Sacrifices portended the Anger of the Gods, which must be appeas'd by Gifts. So that the Soldiers, who had already spent what they had gain'd upon their necessary Occasions, were forc'd upon Oath to restore the tenth Part to *Apollo*, which was look'd upon as a very hard Injunction, and caus'd great Murmurs among the People. Now, because there was little Gold in the City, the Ladies freely contributed their Dresses and Ornaments, which amounted to eight Talents in Gold. And the Senate in requital of this generous Act, decreed that Women shou'd for the future have the Privilege and Honour of Funeral Orations, which before had never been allow'd 'em.

U. C.
360.

The Commons still grew more turbulent and uneasy, and moving again for a Separation, the War with the *Falisci* happily fell out to divert them ; for which *Camillus* was made *Military Tribune* a third time. He soon invested *Falerii*, the chief City, a large and strong Place, 25 Miles almost *North-West* of *Rome*, where the School-Master of the Town drew out his Boys into the *Roman* Trenches, and offer'd him to betray the Town, by delivering up the Sons of the Nobility and Magistrates. *Camillus's* noble Spirit would not permit him to hearken to such Baseness, but out of an extraordinary Greatness of Mind, he immediately order'd the School-Master to be strip'd, his Hands tied behind him, and in that ignominious Manner to be whipp'd into the Town by his own Boys. The Magistrates were so affected with the great Generosity of the *Roman*, that they immediately yielded ; and the Senate leaving the Conditions to *Camillus*, he only fin'd them a Sum of Money, and receiv'd 'em, with all the *Falisci*, into Friendship. But the Soldiers, who expected great Plunder, were extremely disgusted, and from that Instant sought his Ruin. The same Year, the Senate

nate with much difficulty procur'd Consuls to be chosen, instead of *Military Tribunes*, after an Intermission of fifteen Years. And the Year following, *Consuls* also were chosen again; but in the third Year, *Military Tribunes*, in which time the *Tribunes* of the People mov'd again for a Separation, but were so sharply oppos'd by *Camillus*, that in Revenge they accus'd him of fraudulent Practices in the Plunder of the late Wars. *Camillus* finding the Multitude exasperated against him for several Reasons, and that they were now ready to condemn him, left the City; but first lifting up his Hands towards the *Capitol*, he pray'd, *That if his Banishment were unjust, and meerly the Effect of the Rage and Malice of the Multitude, they might suddenly repent it; and that it might visibly appear to the World, how much the Romans were oblig'd by his Actions, and stood in need of his Presence.* Thus, like *Achilles*, leaving his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into Banishment, being fin'd 15000 *Asses*.

IV. About this same time, many Thousands of the *Gauls* finding their own Country too narrow for 'em, and desirous of removing, under the Conduct of *Brennus* their King, broke into *Hetruria*, and invested *Clusium*, a City in Alliance with *Rome*. These were the *Galli Senones*, a very numerous and war-like People, inhabiting most of that Part of *Italy* which now goes by the Name of *Lombardy*, and which the *Hetrurians* had been Masters of before them; a People vast in Body, rude by Nature, barbarous in Conditions, and wandring as Rovers over many Countries. The Inhabitants of *Clusium*, much affrighted at their great Numbers, and dreadful Looks, sent immediately to *Rome*, begging that State to interpose by sending Ambassadors and Letters to dissuade these unjust Aggressors from proceeding in their Enterprize. The Senate, willing to

U. C.
363.

perform this friendly Part, dispatch'd Ambassadors to the *Gauls*, chosing out three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Persons of the greatest Quality, and the most Honourable in the City, for that Office. The *Gauls* at first receiv'd 'em courteously enough; and coming to a Conference with 'em, the Ambassadors demanded the Reasons of this their present Undertaking, and what Injury the *Clusians* had done them; *Brennus* made Answer somewhat sharply, *That they had much injur'd 'em by refusing to part with some of their Lands, when they had more than they themselves cou'd easily manage; and this was nothing more than what the Romans themselves had done to the Albans, the Fidenates, the Ardeates, the Veientes, and many other People that they made War with.* These Reflections so enrag'd the Ambassadors, that they immediately stirr'd up the Inhabitants to make a Sally against the Besiegers, they themselves heading 'em. It happen'd that in the midst of the Fight, *Fabius Ambustus*, one of the three, kill'd a *Gaul* of huge Bulk, and was discover'd while he was disarming of him; whereupon *Brennus*, mov'd with a just Indignation, immediately broke up the Siege, and march'd directly for *Rome*.

Brennus, that he might not seem to do any thing meanly or unjustly, sent first to *Rome*; demanding the Ambassadors to be deliver'd up, as having broken the Law of Nations. But Favour so far prevailed above Equity, that the Matter being referr'd from the Senate to the People, no Satisfaction cou'd be had from either: Nay, further, the Ambassadors themselves were, with three others, created *Military Tribunes* for carrying on the War. The *Gauls* hearing this, in a great Rage hasten'd their March, breathing out nothing but Revenge and Destruction to *Rome*. The Places through which they march'd, were so terrify'd with their Numbers, the Fierceness of their Natures, and their dreadful Preparations of War, that

that they gave their Countries for lost. But, contrary to their Expectations, they did no Injury as they march'd, crying, *That the Romans only were their Enemies, and that they took all others for their Friends.* The Romans met 'em at the River *Allia*, 11 Miles from the City, with an Army of 40000 Foot, but most of 'em raw and unskilful Men, and, what was more dangerous, under the Conduct of several Commanders. In this Condition they engag'd the *Gauls*, without either Order or Discipline, or scarce any Courage, and were miserably defeated. The left Wing was immediately driven into the River, and there entirely cut off: The right escap'd better, tho' with great loss, some dropping into *Rome*; the rest, as many as escap'd, stole by Night to *Veii*, giving *Rome* for lost, and all that was in it for ruin'd. This Day was ever after branded for an unlucky Day by the *Romans*, wherein no Work of note was to be done, and was call'd *Alliensis* in their *Kalendar*.

U. C.
364.

Never was *Rome* in the like Consternation, as at the News of the Loss of this Battel, and the sudden Approach of the Enemy: Nothing but miserable Howlings and Lamentations were heard on all Parts, some leaving the City, others creeping into Holes, Priests, hiding their Relicks, Women running like distracted Persons with their Children in their Arms, and every one shifting for himself; so that *Rome* became abandon'd, and was left open to the Rage and Fury of the Enemy. For they who resolv'd to stay at *Rome*, quitting the rest of the City, betook themselves to the *Capitol*, which they fortify'd, in order to hold out a Siege. Only some of the *Pontifices* and *Priests*, and the most antient of the *Senators*, such as had been honour'd with several Consulships and Triumphs, who cou'd not endure to think of leaving the City, put on all the Robes of State, plac'd themselves in the *Forum* on their Ivory Chairs, resolving since they had liv'd in Honour, to die in State; and in that noble

ble Posture expected the utmost of what would follow.

On the third Day after the Victory, the Easiness of which much amaz'd the *Gauls*, *Brennus* appear'd with all his Forces before the City, and finding the Gates wide open, the Walls unguarded, and all things defenceless, began to suspect at first some Stratagem of the *Romans*; but after a little Consideration, he enter'd the City, and marching into the *Forum*, he was more surpriz'd than ever, to find so many Men sitting all in that remarkable Order, and profound Silence, like so many Statues: Their splendid Habits and Ornaments, their steady Unconcernedness, their Majestick Gravity, their Venerable Looks, together with that Air of Greatness which appear'd in 'em, made the *Gauls* imagine em to be an Assembly of the Gods, or at least somewhat more than Human, till one bolder than the rest, stroaking *Papirius's* Beard, was struck by him with his Ivory Staff; whereupon he immediately kill'd the old Man. Upon which began the Slaughter, the rest of the *Gauls* following his Example, set upon the rest, and kill'd 'em all without Mercy or Distinction; and continuing their Rage and Fury, dispatch'd all that came in their way. In this manner they proceeded, sacking and plundering the Houses for many Days together; then setting the whole City on Flames, burnt down every House to the Ground.

Thus was the famous City of *Rome* laid all in Ashes, except the *Capitol*; occasion'd by the *Romans* manifest Breach of Justice, and the Laws of Nations. This happen'd 364 Years after it was first built, 119 after the Expulsion of the Kings, *Anno Mundi* 3615, in the third Year of the 97th *Olympiad*, 60 Years before the Ruin of the *Persian* Empire, and the setting up of the *Macedonian* by *Alexander the Great*, 388 before our Saviour *CHRIST's* Nativity.



C H A P. VI.

From the Burning of Rome by the Gauls, to the War with the Samnites; when the Romans began much to extend their Conquests.

Containing the Space of 46 Years.

I. **R**OME now felt the utmost Afflictions and Severities of Fire and Sword, and was the true Scene of all kind of Misery and Desolation; the Town deserted by its Inhabitants, and all its stately Buildings a Heap of Rubbish; no Hopes being left but in the *Capitol*, which was now closely besieged by the *Gauls*, and in the banished *Camillus*, whose Presence was now heartily wish'd for. While the *Gauls* lay before the *Capitol*, they sent out many Parties to forage in all the Country about, who ravaged and destroy'd all the Towns and Villages they arriv'd at; and that with the greatest Carelessness and Security imaginable, conceiving no sort of Opposition, or any manner of danger. But the greatest and best-order'd Body of their Forces approaching *Ardea*, *Camillus*, who had liv'd there a retir'd Life, began to rouse himself from the sudden Resentments of his Wrongs, to the moving Considerations of the Miseries of his Country; and by a brave and encouraging Speech, persuaded all the *Ardeans*, that were able to bear Arms, to fall upon the Enemy in the Night-time; which was done so effectually, that scarce any were left to carry the News of the Defeat. The Fame of this Victory began to revive the fainting Spirits of the *Romans*, who now found that these dreadful People were not invulnerable; and the

Romans

U. C.
364.

Romans who lay at *Veii*, now finding *Camillus's* readiness, immediately sent to him to be their General; begging of him to forget all former Injuries, and succour his distressed Country. He objected his banish'd Condition, and refus'd to act, unless by Commission from those in the *Capitol*; whom he consider'd as the true Body of the surviving Roman State. This modest Answer was extremely well taken; but they cou'd not imagine by what means to send to the *Capitol*, while the Enemy was in full Possession of the City.

But for the undertaking this desperate Attempt, one *Pontius Cominius* offer'd his Service, which being kindly accepted of, he thus perform'd: Putting on a poor Garment, carrying Corks underneath, he went for *Rome*, and arriv'd at the City when it was dark: The Bridge he cou'd not pass by reason of the Guards, but taking his Clothes and binding 'em about his Head, he swam down the *Tiber* upon his Corks; and avoiding those Quarters where he perceiv'd the Enemy to be awake, which he guess'd at by the Lights and Noise, he got into the City, and from thence to the *Capitol*, climbing up in the steepest Place with extream Danger and Difficulty. The Besieg'd were much surpriz'd at the Greatness of the Attempt, and presently giving him his Instructions, sent him back the same way he came; and this part of his Expedition he perform'd with the same good Success that he had done the other, and upon his return, deliver'd to *Camillus* an Order of the Senate to make him *Dictator*. *Camillus* chose *Valerius Potitius* for his Master of the Horse, and getting together an Army of above 40000 Men, he prepar'd to march against the Enemy. In the mean while, at *Rome* some of the Gauls happen'd to discover some Foot-steps and Prints made by *Pontius* at the climbing the Hill, which being privately told to *Brennus* their King, he order'd a select Party of Men in dead of Night to

Dic. xiv.
U. C.
364.

to climb up the same way, and take the *Capitol* by Surprize. These men perform'd their Office with great Difficulty, and much time, not any of the Dogs appointed for the Watch perceiving it; nevertheless it so happen'd that some sacred Geese, which were kept by the Temple of *Juno*, by their gagging and clapping their Wings discover'd them. The *Romans* every one snatching what Weapon he cou'd, did their utmost on this sudden Occasion; and *Manlius*, a *Patri-tian* of great Courage, was the first that made Head against 'em, boldly mounting the Rampier, and presently tumbling down two of the Enemy at once. Others soon came into his Assistance, and drove down all the rest, not a Man escaping; and the next Morning the Captain of the Watch was thrown headlong down the Rock, and *Manlius* rewarded as well as Circumstances wou'd permit.

Hence forwards the Affairs of the *Gauls* were in a worse Condition, first wanting Provisions, then infected with the Plague, which rag'd much among 'em; but still the Besieg'd cou'd have no Relief, being reduc'd to a languishing and desponding Condition for want of Provisions and Necessaries. So that after a seven Months Siege, they were forc'd to capitulate, and it was agreed, *That the Romans paying down 1000 Pound weight of Gold, the Gauls shou'd immediately quit the City and Territories.* This Agreement being confirm'd by Oath, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* out of Coverousness us'd false Dealings in the weighing, pulling back the Ballance as they thought fit; at which the *Romans* complaining, *Brennus* cast in his Sword and Belt into the Scales, scoffingly crying, *Væ Victis, Woe to the Vanquish'd*, which afterwards became a Proverb. Whilst this Difference lasted, *Camillus* was arriv'd with his Army, and hastening with a choice Party of Men to the Place where the Gold was a weighing, he came boldly, and took it out of the Scales, telling the *Gauls*, *That it was the Custom of the*
Romans

Romans to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold: Therefore he null'd the Compact, because made without his Consent, who alone, as being then their Dictator, had the sole Power of making Peace. Upon this therefore a Fight immediately ensu'd, where, after a most bloody Contest, the Gauls were entirely routed, and such great Execution done upon 'em in the Pursuit, that all the Roman Territories were in a short time clear'd of 'em. Thus was Rome unexpectedly taken, and in seven Months as unexpectedly recovered; Camillus, for his excellent Services, having a noble Triumph, being now deservedly look'd upon as their second Romulus.

- U. C. 265. II. After this War was finish'd, the Tribunes of the People began to urge once more for the removing to Veii, which caus'd the Senate to procure Camillus to hold his Office of Dictator for a whole Year, which was six Months longer than the usual time. Camillus with kind Words and gentle Language appeas'd the Multitude, shewing 'em, *How unworthy and dishonourable a thing it wou'd be for 'em to forsake the Venerable Seat of their Ancestors, and all their sacred Rites, which were appropriated to this Place, to inhabit a conquer'd and enslav'd City.* Upon this therefore Rome was order'd to be rebuilt with all diligence, and all Persons were employ'd about it; but it was carry'd on with that Haste and Hurry, that the City wanted much of its former Beauty and Regularity; and the Water-courses, formerly laid in the Streets, now ran for the most part under private Houses. When Camillus's second six Months were out, Military Tribunes were chosen; and in the same Year the Æqui, Volsci, and Hetrurians, all took up Arms, and invaded the Roman Territories. The Military Tribunes were soon block'd up by the Enemy, and were brought to such Straits, that the Senate made Camillus Dictator a third time, and he chose Servilius Ahala for his Master of the Horse. Camillus over-
- Dic. xv.
U. C. 366. threw

threw both *Æqui* and *Hetrurians*, and forc'd the *Volsi* to yield themselves, after the War had continu'd for seventy Years; for all which he had a third Triumph. Three Years after this, *Camillus* being *Military Tribune*, overcame them again, together with the *Hernici* and *Latines*, the latter of which till now had been faithful ever since the Battel at the *Rhegian Lake*, above a hundred Years before: And from the *Hetrurians* he recover'd two Towns, which they had taken from the Allies of *Rome*. The Year following four Tribes were added; namely, the *Stellatine*, the *Normentine*, the *Sabbatine*, and the *Arnian*; which now made the whole Number twenty five.

Tribes increas'd a third time.
U. C.
369.

About this time *Manlius*, who for his great Services in saving the *Capitol*, had now got the Surname of *Capitolinus*, began to grow very haughty and ambitious; and by his ingratiating himself with the common sort, his paying their Debts, and his railing at the Nobility, it was apparent that Sovereignty was his Aim. The Numbers that he got over to his Party, together with the War renew'd with the *Volsi*, made the Senate procure a *Dictator* to be created, who was *Cornelius Cossus*, who made choice of *Quintius Capitolinus* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Cossus* soon overthrew the Enemies, and returning home in Triumph, call'd *Manlius* to an account, and put him in Prison. But the Multitude, extremely afflicted at this, put on Mourning Garments, and made such dangerous Disturbances, that after some time he was set at liberty, and soon after *Cossus* laid down his Office. But *Manlius* still growing more insolent, holding private Cabals, and filling the whole City with Faction and Sedition, the Senate remitted his Business to the Care of the *Military Tribunes*, whereof *Camillus* was one, and a Day was set him to answer for his Life. The Place of his Trial was right over against the *Capitol*, where when he was accus'd, he often pointed to it, and with weeping Eyes and moving Voice let the People know, what a noble piece of Service he had done there. This mov'd the

Dic. xvi.
U. C.
369.

the Multitude to such Pity and Compassion, that *Camillus* caus'd the Judges to remove him without the Gate to the *Peteline Grove*; where having no View of the *Capitol*, he was condemn'd to be thrown down the *Tarpeian Rock*, the Place both of his highest Honour and greatest Infamy: And it was decreed that none of the *Manlii* afterwards shou'd be call'd *Marcus*. Thus jealous was *Rome* of her Liberty, that no Deserts cou'd atone for presuming to offer at that.

U. C.
372.

About three Years after, *Camillus* was chosen *Military Tribune* a sixth time, tho' much against his Consent, and march'd against the *Volsci*; where *Lucius*, his Colleague, eager to engage the Enemy when *Camillus* judg'd it dangerous, was permitted to fight alone, *Camillus* being left weak in his Bed. *Lucius* was soon worsted, and his Army almost routed, when *Camillus* rousing himself, was presently help'd up on Horseback, where making his way thro' them that fled, he drove furiously to oppose the Pursuers; which Boldness so encourag'd the Soldiers, that they all rally'd again, resolving never to forsake a General so famous for his Actions, and so venerable for Age: By this the Enemy were soon stopp'd, and the next Day entirely routed, losing Bag and Baggage, and the greatest part of their Men. The Year following, great Stirs were rais'd in the City about the Creditors and Debtors, which gave an Opportunity to the Inhabitants of *Prænestæ*, a Town of *Latium*, with its Dependents, to make Incursions and Devastations to the Walls of *Rome*, to the great Danger and Damage of the City. This, and the Troubles at home, caus'd

Dic. xvii.

U. C.
373.

the Senate to create a *Dictator*, which was *Quintius Cincinnatus*, who appointed *Sempronius Atratinus* for his *Master of the Horse*; and he was so successful against them, that he overthrew 'em, took the eight Towns that were their Dependents by Storm, and *Prænestæ* it self by Surrender. Then returning in Triumph with the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he put into the *Capitol*, he laid down his Office, after keeping of it but twenty Days. Two

Two Years after this, a dangerous Contest happen'd between the *Patritians* and *Tribunes* of the People, occasion'd by *Fabius Ambustus* a *Tribune*, who had marry'd one Daughter to a *Patritian*, and the other to a *Plebeian*: The latter being very much concern'd at her Husband's want of equal Honour, *Fabius* told her, *That he wou'd so manage Affairs, that her House shou'd shortly be of the same Dignity as her Sisters.* From that time therefore he consulted with *Licinius Stolo* her Husband, and *L. Sestius*, about preferring a Law for making one Consul out of the Commons. These two being made *Tribunes* of the People, labour'd so violently about this Law, and the Contests were carry'd with such wonderful Heats and Animosities on both sides, that from the Year 377 to 382, which was five Years, no Supreme Magistrates were chosen at all, nor any other but *Tribunes* and *Ædiles*, who kept their Places all that time. And in all this unhappy Space there was little better than *Anarchy* and Confusion in *Rome*, till the Year 382, they procur'd Military *Tribunes* to be chosen; but still the Contests were kept up on both sides; when two Years after, *Camillus* was made *Dictator* a fourth time, but much against the Consent of the People. He chose *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and with much Difficulty brought both Parties to a better and more moderate Temper; but finding the Multitude so very stubborn and resolute in their Designs, withal threatening to fine him if he comply'd not, he soon laid down his Office. Upon this another *Dictator* was immediately created, which was one *Manlius Capitolinus*, who chose *Licinius Stolo* for his *Master of the Horse*, and he was the first *Plebeian* that ever obtained this Honour. *Stolo*, who had been the great Occasion of these Disturbances, now took an Occasion to prefer a Law that no Man shou'd possess above 500 Acres of Land, which was very disadvantageous to the *Patritians*, and more to himself; for soon after, he was found to have above that

U. C.
375.

Di. xviii.
U. C.
384.

Dic. xix.
U. C.
385.

Proportion, and so was punish'd by vertue of his own Constitution.

Dic. xx.
U. C.
387.

III. In the midst of these violent Contentions about the *Consulship*, News was brought to *Rome*, that many Thousands of the *Gauls* were marching from the *Adriatick Sea* towards *Rome*. This put the City into a great Fright, and all began to lay aside their private Differences, and to think of nothing but of the common Safety; for they had fear'd the *Gauls* so much, that a Law was made, *That Priests shou'd be excus'd from all Wars, unless in an Invasion from the Gauls*: All unanimously agreed to make *Camillus Dictator* a fifth time, now near 80 Years old, who refus'd not the Employment in this dangerous Juncture, but presently chose *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his *Master of the Horse*. *Camillus* consider'd that the Force of the *Gauls* lay chiefly in their Swords, with which they laid about 'em in a rude and unskilful manner: Therefore he furnish'd his Men with light Iron Helmets, and bound their wooden Targets about with Brasses, teaching them how to fence and receive the Enemies Blows without hurt. By this means he render'd the Swords of the *Gauls* so unserviceable, that giving them Battle at the River *Anio*, he easily overthrew 'em, which happen'd 23 Years after they had destroy'd the City; and after this Defeat, the *Romans* now began to despise the *Gauls* as much as they had fear'd 'em before. Soon after this *Camillus* in his return homewards had *Velitrae* surrender'd to him without any Resistance.

But *Camillus's* greatest Contention, and which was hardest to be manag'd, was with the People, who now returning home full of Victory and Success, violently insist'd again to have one of the *Consuls* chosen out of their own Body. The Senate strongly oppos'd it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to lay down his *Dictatorship*, thinking that under the Shelter of his great Name, and greater Authority, they shou'd be the better

better able to contend for the Power of the Nobility. But when *Camillus* was sitting upon the Tribunal, dispatching Publick Affairs, an Officer sent by the *Tribunes* of the People commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his Hand upon him as ready to seize him : Upon which such a Noise and Tumult follow'd in the Assembly, as was never before known in *Rome* : Some that were about *Camillus*, thrusting the People from the Bench, and the Multitude below crying out, *Pull him down, Pull him down !* Still he wou'd not lay down his Office, but taking the Senators along with him, he went to the Senate-House, where great Contests arose, by reason of contrary Opinions ; but at last the most popular Party prevail'd, and a Law was made, *That one of the Consuls for the future might be chosen out of the Plebeians*; and this happen'd 143 Years after their first Creation, and 24 after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. From this time forwards the *Military Tribunes* were for ever laid aside, now 78 Years since their first Creation, after 49 Courses of that Office, and 15 from the *Consulship* to that, and from that to the *Consulship*. Now the People were reconcil'd to the Senate, and a Temple was presently built and dedicated to *Concord*, according as *Camillus* had vow'd ; and the *Patritians* desiring a *Prætor* to be created out of their Body for the Administration of Justice in the City, it was immediately granted 'em.

U.C.
388:
*Consul
Pleb.
Military
Tribunes
put down.*

Prætor.

This *Prætor* was a Magistrate of extraordinary note, so call'd *à Præeundo*, a Name which the *Consuls* themselves had for some time. The Power and Authority of this Magistrate was very great, for he executed the Office of the *Consuls* in their Absence, both in the Senate and in the *Comitia*. But the principal Business of these *Prætors* was to administer Justice in the City or Provinces, to which the *Consuls* cou'd not so easily attend ; and upon that account they may be *English'd*, Lord Chief Justices. They judg'd all Causes both Civil and Criminal, which last were call'd *Ca-*

pitales; in Civil Causes they were cloath'd in Purple; but when they pass'd Sentence in Criminal Causes, they were in Mourning. Upon the account of their Power and Honour, and likewise because they were created by the same *Auspicia* with the *Consuls*, *Livy* calls them *Collegues of the Consuls*. Their Ornaments and *Ensigns* were six *Liētors* with their *Fasces*, the *Toga Prætexta*, and *Cella Curulis*; and besides those Marks of Consular Dignity, the *Sword* and *Spear*, plac'd by them in the Court. Their Officers in Court, besides the *Liētors*, were the *Scribes*, or *Notaries*, to enter Things in Writing, and the *Accensi* or *Bailiffs*, who summon'd the People together. At first there was but one *Prætor*, and that for above 100 Years; then another was created, who administer'd Justice to Strangers; whereupon, for distinction-sake, the first was call'd *Prætor Urbanus*, or *Major*, and the latter *Peregrinus*, or *Minor*. But as the Business and Dominions of *Rome* increased, the Number of these *Prætors* was likewise enlarg'd, and increas'd gradually, till in *Augustus's* Reign they came to sixteen.

*Ædiles
Curules.*

Immediately after the Reconciliation between the Nobility and Commons, a 4th Day was added to the *Latin Feriæ*, and the greater sort of Games were solemniz'd; which when the *Ædiles* of the Commons were willing to manage according to their Office, the young *Patritians* offer'd themselves, and the Senate procur'd also of the People, that two *Patritians* every Year might be made *Ædiles*, who from the Ivory Chair, call'd *Cella Curulis*, had the Name of *Ædiles Curules*. These were created 128 Years after the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but were of greater Account, as being *Curule* Magistrates, their Chair being so call'd either from *Currus*, the Chariot which carry'd it, and the Magistrates about, or from *Curvus*, because it was made with *crooked* Feet. They had all the same Offices and Business as the *Ædiles* of the Commons, but had rather greater Authority; but more especially they took care of the great and publick

publick Games, such as the *Ludi, Florales, Circenses, Megalenses, Romani*, &c. as also of *Tragedies* and *Comedies*. Sometimes at their own Charge they made these Shews, and ever examin'd the Plays written before they were acted; and (whether from this Inspection of all Plays and thelike, it is uncertain) they seem to have been the *Licensers* and Judges of other Writings. It is further observ'd, that the Generals of Armies, when return'd home from Victory, deliver'd up the Corn and Provisions which were Prize to these *Ædiles Curules*, as they did the Prisoners to the *Prætor*, and the Money to the *Quæstor*. Thus were the Disturbances of *Rome* allay'd, and all things for a short space continu'd in Peace and Quiet.

IV. Soon after these Affairs were settled, News came of the *Gauls* meeting together, who had before been dispers'd through *Apulia*, and of the intended Revolt of the *Hernici*: But all Preparations were deferred by the Senate, because they were unwilling to have any thing done by a *Plebeian* Consul. On the other side, the *Tribunes* began to complain, that for one *Plebeian* Consul, the Nobility had got three *Patritian* Magistrates, who sat as Consuls in their *Curule* Chairs, and their *Prætexta*. Modestly therefore suffer'd not the Fathers to create both the *Curule Ædiles* out of their own Body; so that it was agreed first, that every other Year they shou'd be chosen out of the Commons; but afterwards they were elected promiscuously: The Year following there happen'd a grievous Plague in the City, which swept away vast Numbers, among the rest *Camillus* himself, after he had done so many noble Services for the City, that he was deservedly call'd the second Founder of *Rome*. The Plague raging both in this and the following Year, the *Romans*, to appease their Gods, brought in *Stage-Plays*; sending for Actors out of *Ættruria*, in the Language of which Country *Hister* signifying a Player, thence came the Roman Word *Histrion* Stage-Plays first used.

U. C.
389.

U. C.
391.

strio. These Plays were at first very barbarous and antick, beginning with a plain Country Dance to a Pipe; after which the young Men, who jear'd one another at first, began with rude and artless Verses, call'd *Versus Fescennini*, from *Fescenninum*, a City of *Hebruria*: This was about 40 Years after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* in *Greece*. Still the Plague continu'd, which with the overflowing of *Tiber*, made the *Romans* consider of some other ways; and some of the elder People reporting, *That a Pestilence*
 Dic. xxi. was formerly assuag'd by the Dictator's driving of a
 U.C. Nail; the Senate immediately created a Dictator,
 391. which was *Manlius Capitolinus*, who appointed *Pinarius Natta* for his Master of the Horse. This Nail, with great Ceremony and Superstition, was driven on the right side of *Jupiter's* Temple in the Capitol, just by that of *Minerva*, and this was the first Dictator created upon this account.

The Year following, the Ground cleaving asunder in the *Forum* to a vast depth, *M. Curtius*, a brave young Soldier, is said to have rode into this Gulph, arm'd, and with great Solemnity, and so being swallow'd up, purchas'd the Deliverance of his Country, according to the Declaration of their Gods. The same Year the *Hernici* being up in Arms against Rome, *Genutius* the Plebeian Consul marching against 'em, was slain, and his Army routed; which threatening Danger caus'd the Senate to create a Dictator,
 Dic. xxii. which was *Claudius Cassinus*, who made *Cornelius*
 U.C. *Scipio* his Master of his Horse, and gain'd so much Advantage over the Enemy as to obtain an Ovation. Within a Year after, the *Gauls* were gather'd together in great Numbers, and had march'd within three Miles of Rome, which put the City into such a Consternation, that (according to their usual way in such Cases) they created a Dictator; and this was *Quintius Pennus*, who had *Cornelius Maluginensis* for his Master of the Horse. The Armies being drawn up on both sides, a Gaul of vast Bulk and Stature challeng'd
 Dic. any
 xxiii.
 U.C.
 393.

any of the *Romans* to meet him in a single Combat; which Challenge was accepted of by *T. Manlius*, a courageous young Man, who with great Bravery and Agility overthrew his mighty foe, and slew him: Then taking a *Torques*, or Golden Chain, from his Neck, return'd, and was honourably receiv'd by the *Dictator*; and from thence he and his Posterity had the Surname of *Torquatus*. The *Gauls* were so discourag'd at this Action, that they fled by Night, and retir'd into the *Tiburtines* Country, a People of *Latium*; and the *Dictator* return'd in Triumph.

The War with the *Tiburtines* and *Hernici* gave the *Gauls* Opportunity to do much Injury to the *Roman* Territories, which occasion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *Servilius Ahala*, who chose *Quintius Capitolinus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and soon quell'd the *Gauls*; but *Patuleus* the Consul, who had been employ'd against the *Hernici*, happen'd to come off with the greatest Honour. In a Year after, Peace was made with the *Latines*, which was advantageous enough to the *Romans*, by Reason of their frequent Auxiliaries from them: But the Year following, the great Preparations of the *Gauls* caus'd the Senate to create another *Dictator*, which was *Sulpitius Peticus*, who appointed *Valerius Poplicola* for his *Master of the Horse*, and marching against the Enemy, obtain'd a signal Victory over 'em. In this Year were two new *Tribes* added to the former five and twenty, namely, the *Pomptine* and the *Publican*. About two Years after this, the whole Body of the *Hetrurians* took up Arms against Rome, led on by the *Tarquini* and *Falisci*; in which great time of danger, *Marcus Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, was made *Dictator*, which was the first Commoner that ever obtain'd this Honour, it being now 143 Years since their first Creation. He appointed *Plantius Proculus* for his *Master of the Horse*, a *Plebeian* likewise; and tho' he was oppos'd by the *Patritians* as much as they cou'd, yet he did great Service against the Enemy, and triumph'd, but

Dic.
xxiv.
U. C.
394.

Dic. xxv.
U. C.
396.

Tribes in-
creas'd a
fourth
time.

Dic. Pleb.
xxvi.
U. C.
398.

still against the Senate's Consent. The *Patritians* were so enrag'd at this, that at the next Election they took away the *Consulship* from the Commons, after they had enjoy'd it ten Years; and this happen'd in the 399th Year of the City.

Dic.
xxvii.
U. C.
401.

This occasion'd many violent Heats and vast Disturbances between both Parties, for three Years successively, when some of the *Hetrurians* press'd so hard upon the *Roman Territories*, that another *Dictator* was created, namely, *Manlius Torquatus*, who made *Cornelius Cossus* his *Master of the Horse*; but the Enemy out of Fear was soon brought to a Peace, and so, little was perform'd by him. Now the Contests and Quarrels at home were grown to that height, that the Senate was forc'd to give the Commons once more the Privilege of the *Consulship*, four Years after they had taken it from them; and because Usury again was grown exceeding burthensome to the poorer sort, they appointed 5 Men to order the Payment of Debts out of the Treasury: So now all Differences were again reconcil'd. Soon after this, a groundless Apprehension of the *Hetrurians*, who were reported to be all united against Rome, occasion'd the Creation of another *Dictator*, which was *C. Julius*, who made *L. Æmilins* his *Master of the Horse*; but he had so little Employment, that he left all to the next Consuls, who were both *Patritians*: And they went against the *Tarquini* and *Falisci*, who were not yet quieted, and brought 'em to a Peace for the Term of forty Years.

Dic.
xxviii.
U. C.
402.

Dic.
xxix.
U. C.
403.

V. Now Rome was for a while at Peace abroad, and might have been longer so at home, had not *Marcins Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Dictator*, stood for the Office of *Censor*, and rais'd new Disturbances. The *Plebeians* urg'd it hotly; but the *Patritians*, the better to oppose 'em, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created, which was *M. Fabius*, *Q. Servilius* being his *Master of the Horse*; but still without Success; for after many Contests, the *Plebeian Faction* prevail'd, and *Marcins* was made one of the *Censors*, which was the first *Plebeian Censor* in this

this City, it being 92 Years after their first Creation. The next Year a considerable Victory was obtain'd over the *Gauls*, who now grew troublesome again, and one of the Consuls being wounded, and the other sick, the Senate was forc'd to create a *Dictator* for assembling the *Comitia* for a new Election of Consuls, which was *Furius Camillus*, who made *Cornelius Scipio* his *Master of the Horse*; and this was the first *Dictator* created upon this account. *Camillus* himself was chosen for one Consul, and the Death of his Colleague soon after, and the pressing Wars with the *Gauls*, caus'd the Senate to give him the sole Authority, so that he was almost the same with a *Dictator*. *Camillus* led a noble Army against the *Gauls*, and when they were in sight of each other, a *Gaul*, remarkable both for his Stature, and the Richness of his Arms, challeng'd any of the *Romans* to a single Combat *M. Valerius*, a brave young Colonel of the Foot, met him, and in a little time slew him; but in the midst of the Combat a Crow came, and sitting upon *Valerius's* Head, with Beak and Wings assisted him in his Fight, whence he had the Sur-name of *Corvus*, and his Posterity all call'd *Corvini*. This Combat brought both Armies to a Battel, and the *Gauls* were entirely routed. *Camillus* returning home, procur'd a *Dictator* to be created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election of Consuls. This was *Manlius Torquatus*, his *Master of the Horse* being *Cornelius Cossus*; and in this *Comitia*, *Valerius Corvus*, for his great Deserts, was made Consul at 23 Years of Age, a thing indeed very extraordinary.

Dic. xxx.
U. C.
404.

Dic.
xxxi.
U. C.
405.

Now the Armies were disbanded, and for a short space there was both Peace abroad, and Concord at home. This Year a Colony was drawn out from the City *Antia* to People *Satricum*, which had been destroy'd by the *Latines*; and also at *Rome*, a League was concluded with the Ambassadors of *Carthage*, who came on purpose to desire Amity between both Nations, as *Livy* relates it. About three Years after,

Dic.
xxxii.
U. C.
408.

after, the *Arunci*, a People beyond the *Volsci*, and one of the six Nations of *Latium* in the largest Extent, made a sudden Invasion upon the *Roman* Territories; and upon Suspicion that it was by the Instigation of the whole *Latin* Nation, *Furius Camillus* was created *Dictator*, as if all *Latium* had been up in Arms. He chose *Manlius Capitolinus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and march'd against the Enemy, whom he found more like Robbers than Soldiers, so that in the very first Battel they were dispers'd, and that War dispatch'd. A Year after, a Temple was dedicated to *Juno Moneta*, on the *Capitol Hill*, as the last *Dictator* had vow'd; and soon after, some Prodigies were observ'd, of which the *Romans* were so superstitiously fearful, that they created a *Dictator*, to constitute certain Feasts and Holy-days for the appeasing of the Gods, and diverting the Judgments threaten'd: *Calerius Poplicola* was the Person, and *Fabius Ambustus* his *Master of the Horse*: and this was the first created upon this account. Orders were given, that not only all the *Tribes* shou'd go in Procession with their solemn Prayers, but also the bordering Nations; with precise Directions, upon what Days each of 'em shou'd make their Supplications. This Year likewise the Usurers were prosecuted by the *Ædiles*, and severe Sentences given against 'em by the People.

Dic.
xxiii.
U. C.
409.

These were the principal Wars and Actions of the *Romans* with their nearest Neighbours, which are observ'd by their own Historians to have been all defensive, or at least, not begun without just Grounds and Provocations; yet these, which may well enough bear the Name of Defensive Wars, still increas'd the *Roman* Dominions, which now contain'd in effect all old *Latium*, and the greatest part of the other five Nations afterwards comprehended under that Name, viz. the *Volsci*, *Æqui*, *Rutili*, *Hernici*, and *Arunci*, together with most of *Sabina*, and a great Part of *Ættruria*: So that now their Dominions contain'd,

tain'd more than double the Extent of what they were at the Expulsion of the Kings. The last *Dictator* before mentioned, was created a Year before the Wars with the *Samnites*, which Wars began *A. M.* 3661, in the first Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, 410 Years after the building of the City, 165 after the beginning of the *Consular State*, 46 since the Restoration of the City, 14 before the Ruin of the *Persian*, and the setting up the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander the Great*, and 342 before our Saviour *CHRIST*'s Nativity.



C H A P. VII.

From the Wars with the Samnites, to the Wars with Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, the first Foreigner they had to deal with; wherein the Romans began to learn the Arts of War.

Containing the Space of 63 Years.

I. **H**itherto the Romans had all their Wars nigh Home, and as it were at their own Gates; but now daily gathering Strength, and increasing in Power, they ventur'd against the warlike *Samnites*, a People above 100 Miles East of *Rome*. These *Samnites* were a hardy Nation, descended from the *Sabines*, from whom they probably had their Name, and inhabited a considerable Part of that side of *Italy*, which now goes by the Name of the Kingdom of *Naples*; having likewise seven other People as Dependents, namely, the *Picentes*, *Vestini*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentini*, *Peligni*, *Marfi*, and *Hirpini*. The Occasion of this War, was the *Samnites* contesting with their Neighbours the *Sidicini*, who immediately betook themselves to the *Campanians* for Succour. These *Campanians* were a luxurious and effeminate People, inhabiting a delicious

U.C.
410.

cious Country bordering on *Samnium* ; and were so weaken'd, that they sent to *Rome* for Aid, their Ambassadors imploring it with Tears, and giving up both themselves and Country into the Hands of the *Romans*. The Senate at first was very unwilling to begin a War with the *Samnites*, as being their Friends and Allies ; but the importunate Cries and Prayers of the Ambassadors, and more especially the scornful Refusal of the *Samnites* to desist from ravaging the Territories of *Capua* and *Campania*, so far prevail'd, as at last to make them undertake the War.

The Consuls, *Valerius* and *Cornelius*, began their Marches with two distinct Armies ; one to *Capua*, and the other into *Samnium*. *Valerius*, after a most bloody and obstinate Fight, overthrew the Enemy in *Campania*, and became Master of their Camp. The *Romans* confess'd they never met with more resolute Enemies ; and demanding of 'em, *What made 'em fly after so brave a Resistance ?* They answer'd, *That the Eyes of the Romans appear'd to 'em like Flames of Fire, and their Looks so fierce and dreadful, as not to be born with.* In *Samnium*, *Cornelius*, the other Consul ; having unwarily led his Army too forward into a dangerous Place, *P. Decius*, a Tribune in the Army, boldly possess'd himself of a Hill above the Enemy, who much surpriz'd at the Attempt, turn'd their principal Force thither, which gave Opportunity to the Consul to draw off his Men to a more convenient Place. Whereupon *Decius*, with an undaunted Bravery, though surrounded, brake through the Enemy, which more amaz'd 'em than ever ; and the Consul at the same time charging with great Resolution, so great a Victory was obtain'd, that 30000 of the *Samnites* were slain. Both the Consuls triumph'd over the *Samnites*, and *Decius* was highly honour'd by the Senate and People for his great Services.

Soon after this, Ambassadors from *Campania* requested to have Garrisons from the *Romans* that Winter

ter, in *Capua*, and other Places, to secure 'em from the Insults of the *Samnites*, which were accordingly sent. But many of the *Roman* Soldiers were so corrupted with the Delights and Pleasures of *Capua*, that they began to form a Design of destroying the Inhabitants, and taking the Town to themselves. This Design was communicated to many of their Companions in other Places, and well approv'd of; but it was soon discover'd to some of their Officers, who made several Removals to disperse 'em. But the Soldiers finding themselves liable to be call'd to an Account, and perhaps severely punish'd; as soon as they found Opportunity, gather'd themselves together, and daily increas'd their Numbers, march'd directly for *Rome* in a rebellious and hostile manner. This piece of Boldness so surpriz'd the Senate, that they presently created a *Dictator*, which was *Valerius Corvus*, one of the last Years Consuls, who appointed *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and march'd against the Rebels, who had now forc'd *T. Quintius*, an eminent Soldier, to be their General. Upon the Approach of both Armies, the Rebels out of Fear yielded themselves, and were receiv'd into Favour, the *Dictator* having no more Employment abroad. In the same Year the frequent Inroads made by the *Romans* into the *Samnites* Country, drew 'em to a Peace, the *Sidicini* being left to their Mercy.

Dic.
xxxiv.
U. C.
411.

II. Soon after this Peace, the *Samnites* desir'd of the *Romans* that the *Latines* and *Campanians* might be commanded not to assist the *Sidicini*; but because the Senate wou'd not deny that these Nations were under their Command, and were likewise unwilling to provoke 'em, such an ambiguous Answer was return'd, that the *Latines* and *Campanians* thought themselves so far oblig'd as to revolt. *Manlius Torquatus*, now Consul the third time, and his Colleague *Decius Mus*, were sent by the Senate to chastise the *Latines*, who now wou'd be satisfy'd with no less than having one

of the Consuls, and half the Senators chosen out of their Nation. Upon certain Dreams and Prognostications, that the General on one side, and the Army on the other, was certainly to be destroy'd; the Consuls solemnly agreed, *That in what Part the Roman Army should be distress'd, the Commander of that Part should devote himself to the Gods, and die for his Country*; which generous Resolution was confirm'd by Oath: And because they were all acquainted with each others Discipline, and Way of Fighting, strict Commands were given that no Man upon pain of Death should fight without Orders.

Both Armies were drawn up in Battalia, and a bloody and obstinate Engagement immediately follow'd, the *Latines* pressing very hard upon *Decius's* Part, he according to his Promise devoted himself to the Gods, and rushing violently into the midst of his Enemies, after a great Slaughter, lost his Life, the *Latines* being soon after entirely defeated. Nor was the Discipline of *Manlius* less remarkable than the Courage of *Decius*, in relation to his own Son: For he passing with his Troops before the Battel nigh the Enemy, was challeng'd by *Metius*, Captain of the *Tusculans*, whom when he had slain and stripp'd, his Father with Tears commended him for his Valour, but condemn'd him for his Disobedience; which, though a sad, was a profitable Example to the rest of his Men: And after that, cruel Commands were usually call'd *Manliana Dicta*. The *Latines* now defeated, begg'd Peace; which being given 'em, though not with the same Conditions to all, *Manlius* return'd in Triumph, but was met only by the old Men, the young ones refusing to do him that Honour, and ever after hating him upon the account of his Son. Soon after, the People of *Antium* and *Ardea* made Incursions into the Roman Territories: But *Manlius* being sick, he nam'd *Papirius Crassus* for Dictator, who appointed *Papirius Cursor* his Master of the Horse, and kept the Field some Months

Dic.
xxxv.
U. C.
413.

Months in the *Antiates* Country, but no remarkable Action happen'd.

The *Consuls* for the following Year, *Æmilius* and *Publius*, overthrew the *Latines*, who had again revolted upon the account of some Lands taken from them. *Publius*, by whose Conduct the Victory was obtain'd, receiv'd into Alliance such Cities as had been worsted, and *Æmilius* march'd his Army, and sat down before *Pedum*, which receiv'd Supplies from several Places. Tho' he had the Advantage in all Skirmishes, yet still the Town held out, and he understanding that his Colleague was return'd to his Triumph, he immediately left his Siege, and went for *Rome* to demand that Honour likewise. The Senate was much offended at this Presumption, denying him that Honour, except *Pedum* was either taken or surrender'd; which caus'd him out of Revenge to join with the *Tribunes* against the *Patritians* the rest of his Time, his Colleague not opposing it, being himself a *Plebeian*. The Senate, out of a desire to get free of 'em both, order'd a *Dictator* to be created, whom it fell to *Æmilius*'s share to nominate, as having the *Fasces* that Month. *Æmilius* nam'd his Colleague *Publius Philo*, who appointed *Junius Brutus* for his *Master of the Horse*, and was the second *Plebeian Dictator* in *Rome*. *Publius* was a great Vexation to the Nobility, and was full of Invectives against 'em, procuring three remarkable Laws, whereof the first alter'd the very Constitution of the State, which was, *That the Plebiscita shou'd bind the Quirites or Citizens of Rome, of all Ranks and Degrees whatsoever.* The second was, *That such Laws as were enacted in the Centuriata Comitia, shou'd be propos'd or pass'd by the Senate before they were voted by the People.* The third, *That whereas they had obtain'd before, that both the Censors might be Plebeians, now one at least must of necessity be so.* So now the Majesty of the Roman State was more impair'd by the Authority of these two at home, than it was augmented by their Valour abroad.

In

Dic.
xxxvi.
U. C.
414.

Rostra.

Prator
Pleb.U. C.
416.

In the following Year, wherein *Furius Camillus* and *C. Mænius* were Consuls, *Pedum* was taken by Storm, and the Consuls in pursuit of the Victory conquer'd all *Latium*, bringing it and some neighbouring Parts to an entire Submission; for which they triumph'd, and had Statues on Horseback erected for 'em in the *Forum*, an Honour very rare in those Days. These several People of *Latium* had several Conditions of Peace appointed 'em, some being rewarded and honour'd, others punish'd and disgrac'd, according as their former Behaviour had been. To *Antium* was sent a new Colony, the old Inhabitants being forbidden the Sea, and had all their long Ships taken from 'em, but had leave to enter themselves in the Colony, and were made free of that City. The Ships were some of 'em brought into the *Roman* Arsenal, others burnt, and with their *Rostra* or Beaks, was the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations in the *Forum* adorn'd; whence that had afterwards the Name of *Rostra*. The Year following, *Minucia*, a Vestal Virgin, was bury'd alive in the *Campus Scele-ratus*, which, as *Livy* believes, had its Name from Incest; for so Incontinency in those Women was call'd. And in the same Year, *Publius Philo* was made *Prator*, who was the first *Plebeian* that obtain'd this Honour, the Senate little regarding it, having been so often overpower'd in Matters of the greatest consequence: And this happen'd in the 416th Year of the City, and 28 Years after the first Creation of this Office.

III. Not long after the Agreement between the *Romans* and *Latines*, a War broke out between the *Arunci* and the *Sidicini* in *Campania*, in which the latter constrain'd the former to abandon their ancient Seats, and settle in *Suessa*, which was afterwards call'd *Arunca*. The *Arunci* had given up themselves to the *Romans*, who thereupon order'd 'em Relief; but the Consuls deferring it, lost the Opportunity of assisting 'em

'em. But in the next Year, the *Sidicini*, with their Confederates and Neighbours, the Inhabitants of *Cales*, were overthrown; and *Valerius Corvus*, now the fourth time Consul for the following Year, and one of the greatest *Roman* Commanders of his time, took *Cales* also, in which he plac'd a Colony of 2500 Persons. *Corvus* return'd in Triumph; but he and his Colleague being employ'd in some small Actions abroad, a *Dictator* was created for the holding the *Comitia* for the Election of new Consuls, which was *Æmilius Mamercinus*, who appointed *Publius Philo* for his *Master of the Horse*. Two Years before this, a *Dictator* was created, and another a Year after this; but by reason of their undue Election, and their not acting, I shall not reckon 'em among the Number of *Dictators*. Affairs abroad were in a peaceable Posture for some time; but in two or three Years, the mere Rumour of an Invasion by the *Gauls* occasion'd the Creation of a *Dictator*, which was *Papirius Crassus*, his *Master of the Horse* being *V. Poplicola*; but neither of 'em had any extraordinary Employment. In this same Year, two new Tribes were added, namely, the *Metian* and the *Scaptian*, for the late admitted Citizens, which now made the Number twenty nine: The *Arunci* were also made free of the City, but without the Privilege of Voting, by a Law preferr'd by *Papirius* the *Prætor*.

Dic.
xxxvii.
U. C.
418.

Dic.
xxxviii.
U. C.
421.

Tribes increas'd a fifth time.

About a Year after the Settlement of these Matters, above 170 Women were put to death for the Art of Poysoning, being discover'd by a She Slave. This was look'd upon as such a Prodigy by the superstitious People, that a *Dictator* was created to drive a Nail into *Jupiter's* Temple, as the best Remedy for the Distempers of the State. *Quintius Varus* was the Man, and *Valerius Pontius* his *Master of the Horse*; and this was the second *Dictator* created upon that account. For the two succeeding Years, a War was carry'd on against the Inhabitants of *Privernum* in the *Volscian* State, who were drawn into

Dic.
xxxix.
U. C.
422.

U. C. 424. it by *Vitrurius Vaccus*, a Man of principal Note among the *Arunci*. The first Year they were overthrown, the next *Vitrurius* was taken Prisoner, and *Privernum* surrender'd; the principal Actors with *Vitrurius* being put to Death, and the rest of the Inhabitants made free of the City: This happen'd in the same Year with *Alexander's* destroying the *Persian* Empire, and his setting up the *Macedonian*, and so after the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. In a Year or two after, the Inhabitants of *Palæpolis* in *Campania*, trusting to the Treachery of the *Samnites*, and taking Advantage from a Plague in *Rome*, committed great Acts of Hostility against the *Romans*, who dwelt about *Cumæ* and *Falernus*. War was presently declar'd against 'em; and tho' they were assisted by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, a People beyond 'em, yet they were forc'd to yield up their City, which stood in the same Place where *Naples* did afterwards, and the *Samnites* lost three of their own Towns. The *Tarentines* nevertheless proceeded, and drew the *Samnites*, with the residue of the *Palæopolitans*, again into the War, wherein the *Vestini*, together with their Allies, were also engag'd.

In the beginning of this War, great Commotions happen'd in the City, occasion'd by one *Papirius*, who had given up himself as Slave to *Publius*, a severe Usurer, to work out his Father's Debts. *Papirius* being both young and beautiful, *Publius* attempted to abuse him after a filthy manner, and upon his refusal, most cruelly scourg'd him. In this Condition *Papirius* fled to the People, who were so affected with his barbarous Usage, that they procur'd these two Laws shortly after: First, *That no Man shou'd be detain'd in Bonds, except for heinous Misdemeanors, and then not after Punishment.* The Second, *That the Money and Goods, not the Body of the Debtor, shou'd be responsible:* Whereupon all Prisoners for Debt were immediately set at Liberty. The following Year, the *Vestini* were overthrown by *Brutus Scæva*, the Consul, and two Towns taken from

from 'em. His Collegue, *Furius Camillus*, being sick at *Samnium*, nam'd *Papirius Cursor* for Dictator, the most famous Commander in those times, who appointed *Fabius Rullianus* for his Master of the Horse. *Papirius* being encamp'd nigh the *Samnites*, was forc'd to return to *Rome* to renew his *Auspicia*, leaving a most strict Command to *Fabius* not to stir out of his Trenches in his Absence: But *Fabius* finding a great Advantage, engag'd the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter of 'em. The Dictator in a great Rage return'd to the Camp, and wou'd have put him to death, but the Army rescu'd him; which caus'd *Papirius* to make great Complaints to the Senate, withal urging the the absolute Necessity of a strict Discipline and Authority. But at last the Intreaties of the Fathers with the Commotions of the Tribunes and People, prevail'd with him to spare his Life. This Severity of *Papirius* so alienated the Hearts of the Soldiers, that it almost cost him the loss of a Battel soon after, which constrain'd him to be more Popular for the future; after which he overthrew the *Samnites*, and so much wasted their Country, as forc'd them to desire a Peace.

The *Samnites* soon return'd to their former Enmity, and in two Years time they grew so strong, that the Senate thought it necessary to create a Dictator to oppose 'em, and this was *Cornelius Arvina*, who appointed *Fabius Ambustus* for his Master of the Horse, and gave the Enemy a great Overthrow; by which the *Samnites* were so weaken'd, that they sent all their Prisoners and Plunder to *Rome*, together with the dead Body of the Author of the Revolt, who had kill'd himself to avoid being deliver'd up, and all to purchase Peace. The Senate only receiv'd the Men, with such Goods as were particularly challeng'd, and deny'd 'em Peace. Inrag'd at this, *Pontius*, the chief Man among 'em, drew out the *Samnites* to a Place call'd *Caudium*, and putting ten Soldiers in the Habit of Shepherds, he sent 'em to *Calacia*, where the Consuls

Dic. xli.
U. C.
431.

lay, with Instructions to report that the *Samnites* were now in *Apulia* before *Luceria*, and had almost taken it. The Consuls believing this Report, made all speed to relieve the Town, lest their Allies, the *Apulians*, might be oblig'd to join with the *Samnites*. Now the *Romans* had but two ways to march to *Luceria*; one large enough, but far about; the other a narrow Passage through the Straits of *Caudium*, a Place encompass'd with high Mountains, and extream difficult and dangerous to pass, if an Enemy were nigh. The Consuls leading their Army through this, were immediately block'd up on all sides by *Pontius*, who had possess'd himself of all the Defiles.

The *Samnites* having got the *Romans* at this great Advantage, immediately sent to *Herennius*, *Pontius's* Father, to know how to proceed. *Herennius*, sent two several Messages, the first to dismiss the *Romans* without any Injury at all, the second to put 'em all to the Sword; urging, *That one of these two ways was absolutely necessary; for the first would lay a perpetual Obligation on a most powerful people, and the second wou'd be a great weakning of a most formidable Enemy; and that no third Way cou'd either gain their Friendship, or diminish their Strength.* But this prudent Counsel wou'd not be heard; so the *Romans* had these Articles allow'd 'em: First, *That their Army should march away only with their under Garments, having first, in token of Slavery, pass'd under the Jugum or Gallows*: Secondly, *They shou'd wholly quit all Samnium, and remove all their Colonies*: And, Thirdly, *Both Roman and Samnite shou'd live under the same Terms of Confederacy and Alliance.* The *Romans* were constrain'd to submit to these disgraceful Articles, and with wonderful Shame, Anger and Confusion, return'd to *Capua* disarm'd and half naked, and from thence to *Rome*. The whole City was most sensibly afflicted at their shameful Disaster; their generous Blood boiling in their Veins, and nothing but Fury and Revenge appear'd in their Faces. The Consuls refus'd to appear abroad, or to act, for which reason

a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* of a new Election, which was *Æmilius Papus*, who appointed *Valerius Flaccus* for his *Master of the Horse*. But instead of an Election of Consuls, the State for a while fell into an *Interregnum*, there being nothing but Grief and Vexation in all Places, and the whole City put into Mourning.

Dic. xlii.
U. C.
432.

But the Year following, Consuls were chosen, *Papirius Cursor* and *Publius Philo* being the Persons; and the Senate being assembled, *Posthumius*, one of the last Year's Consuls, generously offer'd himself to be deliver'd, together with his Colleague, up to the Enemy, and so to break the *Caudine Treaty*, urging, *That only they two were oblig'd to observe the Articles, and not the State, which was altogether ignorant of what was done.* This was gratefully accepted of; but *Pontius* refus'd to receive 'em, greatly exclaiming against the Perfidiousness of the *Romans*. But the Army soon march'd against them under the Conduct of *Papirius*, and sufficiently reveng'd themselves of all former Affronts, overthrowing 'em in several Battels, making 'em all pass under the *Fugum*, recovering several Towns, and freeing the 600 Hostages which they had deliver'd to 'em in the *Caudine Treaty*; so that the *Samnites* cou'd very hardly obtain a two Years Truce. In the time of this Truce, two new Tribes

Tribes increas'd a sixth time.

were added to the rest, namely, the *Ufentine* and *Falerine*, which made the Number thirty one. The *Samnites*, encourag'd by some others, broke their Truce, which, together with the *Hetrurians* warlike Preparations, occasion'd the Creation of a *Dictator*, which was *L. Æmilius*, who made *L. Fulvius* his *Master of the Horse*, and in a bloody Battel overthrew the Enemy, who came to relieve *Saticula*, which he had invested. The next Year, another *Dictator* was created to carry on this War, which was *Fabius Maximus*, who chose *Auleus Cerretan* for his *Master of the Horse*, and took *Saticula*, managing the War with great Success against the *Samnites*, and considerably en-

U. C.
436.
Dic.
xliii.
U. C.
437.
Dic. xliv.
U. C.
438.

larging the *Roman* Dominions in those Parts.

- The following Year, a dangerous Conspiracy was discover'd at *Capua*; and this occasion'd the creating of a *Dictator*, which was *C. Mænius*, who made choice of *M. Fostius* for his *Master of the Horse*, and soon suppress'd that Disturbance. The next Year the *Samnite* War was carry'd on with great Vigour, and a *Dictator* created, which was *C. Petælius*, who made *M. Fostius* his *Master of the Horse*, and gain'd great Advantages over the Enemy. After which the *Romans* had a short breathing time, and but a short one; for soon after, the *Hetrurians* making great Threats, and as great Preparations, another *Dictator* was created, which was *Junius Bubulcus*, who perform'd little against 'em, by reason of their keeping upon the Defensive. In this same Year, *Appius Claudius* being one of the *Censors*, made the famous *Cawsey*, or Highway, call'd *Via Appia*, a prodigious Work, together with the Channel of fresh Water, which he brought into the City; which Works he all alone accomplish'd, according to *Livy*. A Year or two was employ'd against the *Hetrurians*, till at last *Papirius* was made *Dictator*, who chusing *Bubulcus* his *Master of the Horse*, gave 'em the greatest Overthrow that they ever received yet, all their choicest Men being lost; and from that time they were never able to perform much against *Rome*. Four Years after, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for Election of *Consuls*, which was *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Decius Mus* was his *Master of the Horse*. In the second Year after this, the *Samnites*, after many and great Losses, obtain'd a Peace, 12 Years after they broke their Truce, and the antient League was renew'd with 'em, and this happen'd 37 Years after the first War with that Nation.

U.C. 440. Soon after this Peace was concluded, the *Romans* turn'd their Arms against the *Æqui*, and chastiz'd them for assisting the *Samnites*, which affrighted other

other Nations into Subjection, the *Roman* Dominions now daily increasing. But however such Resistance was made as they thought it necessary to have a *Dictator*, which was *Junius Bubulcus*, who chose *M. Titinius* for his *Master of the Horse*, and in eight Days time return'd in Triumph. In less than a Year after, the Fame of the *Hetrurians* joining with the *Umbrians*, a People on the North of them, and the *Sabines*, occasion'd the creating of another *Dictator*, which was *Valerius Maximus*, who appointed *Æmilius Paulus* for his *Master of the Horse*. This *Dictator* entirely broke the Power of all the *Hetrurians*, reducing all their Territories to the *Roman* Subjection; which happen'd above 430 Years after the first Wars with those People. The *Umbrians* were likewise much weaken'd, and lost a considerable Part of their Country; the *Romans* still extending their Dominions on all sides, and continually increasing their Strength.

Dic. l.
U. C.
451.

Dic. li.
U. C.
452.

During some sort of Intermission abroad, the Commons began to fall into their former dissatisfy'd Humour, and the *Tribunes* much complain'd that all the *Priests* and *Augurs* were created out of the *Patritians*, and urg'd that the *Plebeians* might also partake of those Offices. The Senate made no great Oppositions, as being sufficiently accusom'd to yield in Matters of greater moment: So that whereas at present there were but four *Chief Priests*, and as many *Augurs*, answering to the four *Tribes* in the City, now four more were added, and to those, five more out of the Body of the Commons. And in this same Year, *Valerius*, the Consul, preferr'd a Law of *Appeal* more carefully enacted; which was the third time this Law was confirm'd since the Expulsion of the Kings, and always occasion'd by the same Family. The same Consul fell upon the *Æqui*, who were now in Rebellion, and in a little time they had nothing left 'em of their ancient Fortune but the Stoutness of their Tempers. The following

*Tribes in-
creas'd a
seventh
time.*

U C.

454.

lowing Year was a *Lustrum*, and two new *Tribes* were added to the former, namely, the *Anienfis*, and the *Tarentine*, which now made the whole Number thirty three. The City was also much increas'd, for at the next *Lustrum*, five Years after, there were cess'd no less than 262322 free Citizens.

Within a Year after this, the *Samnites*, after six Years respite, broke their League with the *Romans*, and with them were fought several Battels, the *Samnites* being almost always Losers. But the most memorable was that about three Years after this last Breach, when they had got the *Umbrians* and *Gauls* with some of the *Hetrurians* to assist them, and receiv'd a most dismal Overthrow by the Consuls *Fabius Maximus* and *Decius Mus*. In the midst of this Fight, *Decius* seeing his Party retire, and in danger of being defeated, he follow'd the great Example of his Father above forty Years before, and most solemnly devoted himself to the Gods; then rushing into the midst of the Enemy with an extraordinary Fury and Courage, he recover'd his Army, but with the loss of his Life. About two Years after, *Papirius*, Son to the former, got a noble Victory over them, took above 15000 Prisoners, gain'd several Towns, and obtain'd a splendid Triumph. But the following Year, the *Samnites* ventur'd another Battel, and had better Fortune, overthrowing *Fabius Gurges*, the Consul, which put the Senate upon removing of him. But his Father, *Fabius Maximus*, to prevent the Disgrace, promis'd to be Lieutenant to his Son; which Office he perform'd so well, as he procur'd him a great Victory, and a Triumph. And within two Years after, the *Samnites* were so mortify'd, as to beg a Peace, after *Pontius* their General had been taken and slain, which was at last granted 'em, and the League was renew'd with 'em a fourth time.

U. C.

462.

In less than a Year's time, the *Samnites* again broke their League, but were punish'd with the loss of several

ral Battels and more Towns, over whom *Dentatus* the Consul triumph'd twice in one Year; after which were Colonies sent to *Castrum*, *Sena*, and *Ardria*. Two Years after, the *Triumviri* for Capital Matters were created, who had Power to imprison and punish all Malefactors; and in the same Year 273000 Free Citizens were cels'd. Three Years after that, the Commons, by reason of their desperate Debts, and violent Contests between them and the *Patritians*, withdrew themselves into the Hill *Janiculum*; which was the third Separation of the *Plebeians*. The Senate, to appease this dangerous Tumult, created *Q. Hortensius Dictator*, who, with many Arts; and much Difficulty, persuaded 'em to return, promising them, *That their Plebiscita shou'd have the Force of Laws, and bind the whole Body Politick*. This was call'd the *Lex Hortensia*, tho' the same, in effect, had been granted twice before. Soon after, Wars were successfully managed against the *Lucani*, a Nation in almost the farthest Parts of *Italy*, who had molested the *Thurini*, the Roman Allies. But the last of the *Italians* that made much Opposition, were the *Tarentines*, formerly mention'd, who inhabited a very large and rich City in the South-Eastern Parts of *Italy*, 240 Miles from *Rome*. These People had plunder'd several of the Roman Ships, which was the Occasion and Beginning of that War.

Nevertheless these *Tarentines*, tho' join'd with the *Lucani*, *Messapii*, *Brutii*, *Apulii*, and *Samnites*, (the four former being their Neighbours, and the Inhabitants of the South-Eastern Parts of *Italy*) were not able to oppose the extraordinary growing Power of the Romans; but were in a short time so distress'd, that they were forc'd to send for *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* to come over and assist 'em. And thus began the memorable War with that famous Commander, the most considerable the Romans ever before met with, which happen'd in the 473d Year of the City, *A. M.* 3724. in the 4th Year of the 124th *Olympiad*, 228 since the beginning

*Triumviri
Capitales.*

*Dic. lii.
U. C.
467.*

*C. U.
472.*

beginning of the *Consular State*, 109 since the burning of the City by the *Gauls*, 49 since the beginning of the *Macedonian Empire* by *Alexander*, and 279 before our Saviour *CHRIST*.



C H A P. VIII.

From the first War with Pyrrhus King of Epirus, to the first Punick or Carthaginian War, when the Romans first set Foot out of Italy.

Containing the Space of 16 Years.

U. C. **473.** **P**YRRHUS was much solicited by the *Tarentines*, to come into *Italy*, who, in the Name of many of the *Italians*, made many large Presents to him, signifying, *How much they stood in need of a General, so eminent both for Abilities, and the Reputation of his Arms.* Pyrrhus being of a generous and ambitious Temper, promis'd 'em to come over with an Army, and shortly after dispatch'd *Cineas*, a *Thessalian*, an excellent Orator and Scholar of *Demosthenes*, with 3000 Men for *Tarentum*. Soon after him, he put to Sea with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horse, 20000 Foot, 2000 Archers, and 500 Slingers; but meeting with a great Storm, his Ships were much dispers'd, and some lost, so that he arriv'd at *Tarentum* but with a small Part of his Army. When he enter'd the Town, he refus'd to act without their particular Order, till the rest of his Army were arriv'd; then observing how the Inhabitants apply'd themselves chiefly to Bathing, Feasting, and their Pleasures, he shut up the Publick Meeting Places, restrain'd them from Drinking and Games, and called them to Arms, being very severe in listing Men fit for Action and Service. He now receiv'd Intelligence, that *Levinus* the Roman Consul was upon his March

March with a numerous Army, wasting *Lucania* as he pass'd; and though these Confederate Troops were not all arriv'd, he drew out his Army against him; but before the Armies cou'd join, he sent to *Lævinus*, offering a Mediation between the *Romans* and their Adversaries. But *Lævinus* return'd Answer, *That he neither esteemed him as a Mediator, nor fear'd him as an Enemy*; and taking his Messengers, he order'd 'em to be led through the midst of the Camp, and bad them go tell their Master what they had seen.

Pyrrhus advanc'd and encamp'd on the Plain between *Pandesia* and *Heracleia*; and perceiving the *Romans* lay on the other side of the River *Liris* in good Order, he planted Men all along the Bank to oppose their Passage: But the *Romans* hastning to prevent the coming up of those Forces he expected, attempted the Passage with their Infantry, where it was fordable, the Horse getting over in several Places; so that the *Greeks* fearing to be hemm'd in, were oblig'd to retreat a little way; which *Pyrrhus* perceiving, drew up his Men in Battalia, himself at the Head of 'em, and began the Charge. He was very remarkable for the Fineness and Richness of his Arms, but more for the Bravery and Nobleness of his Acts; managing the Battel with a great Steadiness and Presence of Mind, and performing the Drudgery of a common Soldier, as well as the Office of a General. In the midst of the Fight, *Pyrrhus's* Horse was kill'd under him, which oblig'd him to change Armor with one near him, who being taken for the King, was slain, and his Armour taken. This Armour being carry'd about by the *Romans* in token of his Death, struck such a Terror into his Soldiers, that it had lost him the Victory, but that he seasonably, and with much Labour, made himself known. Whilst the Battel seem'd doubtful, the Elephants were sent in among the *Romans*, and the Surprize they were in, together with their Horses not enduring the Smell and Bigness of those
those

those Creatures, broke their Ranks; whereupon *Pyrrhus* commanded the *Theſſalian* Cavalry to charge them in this Diſorder, and gave them a total Rout, with great Slaughter, tho' with the loſs of many of his beſt Men, he himſelf alſo being wounded. The *Romans* loſt nigh 15000 Men, and had 1800 taken Priſoners; and the other ſide loſt 13000, as *Plutarch* obſerves out of *Dionyſius*.

Pyrrhus us'd the *Roman* Priſoners with extraordinary Civility and Courteſy, and generously bury'd their Dead; then taking a View of their Bodies, and obſerving that they were all wounded before, and what noble and ſtern Countenances they had, he liſt up his Eyes, and cry'd, *O how eaſily might I conquer the World, were I Maſter of ſuch Soldiers!* After this Battel, *Pyrrhus* being join'd with the Auxiliary Troops of the *Samnites*, *Lucani* and *Brutii*, directed his March towards *Rome*, and advanc'd as far as *Præneste*, laying waſte all before him. The *Romans* us'd all neceſſary Diligence to recruit their Troops, and to make new Levies, ſtirring up their Courages as much as poſſible, *Fabritius* a *Patritian*, inſinuating, *That the Loſs was not through want of Valour, but Conduſt, and that the Grecians had not overcome the Romans, but Pyrrhus had conquer'd Lævinus.* *Pyrrhus* finding the *Romans* very diligent and expeditious in their Recruits, conſider'd it was more honourable to treat with 'em after his Victory, ſince he had but ſmall hopes of ſubduing them, and for that purpoſe ſent *Cineas* to find out their Inclinations, a Man ſo powerful in Rhetorick, that the King acknowledg'd him, *to have ſtorm'd more Towns by his Tongue, than he ever did by his Arms.* *Cineas* very cloſely apply'd himſelf to ſeveral of the Nobility, with Preſents for themſelves and their Ladies as from his Maſter; but he found them ſo ſteady and unmov'd, that not a ſingle Perſon wou'd receive any, and both Men and Women answer'd, *That if a Treaty were publickly concluded, they then ſhou'd be ready to ſhew*

shew all Respect and Service due to so great a Man as the King was.

Cineas finding these Methods ineffectual, proceeded to his Business more publickly, and being come into the Senate, he said the most soft and obliging Things in the World; likewise offering in his Master's Name, to return all that was taken in the Battel without Ransom, and promising all the Assistance that cou'd be expected for the conquering all *Italy*, only asking for his Master and the *Tarentines* their Friendship and Alliance. These fair Promises at first made the Senate somewhat inclin'd to a Treaty, till *Appius Claudius*, now blind and very ancient, was brought into the Senate-house, who by a stirring and encouraging Oration, so warm'd the Assembly, that *Cineas* could be heard no more, but was dismiss'd with this Answer; *That when Pyrrhus had withdrawn his Forces from Italy, then if he pleas'd they would treat with him about Friendship and Alliance; but till then, they resolv'd to carry on the War with the utmost Vigour, tho' they met with never so many Defeats.* *Cineas*, at his return was ask'd by *Pyrrhus*, what he thought of *Rome*? he told him, *That the Senate appear'd to him as a venerable Assembly of so many Kings; and the People he thought were like the Hydra, whose Number increas'd the more for the Defeat; for the Consul had already rais'd twice as great an Army, and there were still far greater Numbers behind.*

Soon after *Cineas's* Return, the *Romans* sent to *Pyrrhus*, about ransoming of Prisoners; among others, *C. Fabricius*, a Person eminent for his great Virtues, and remarkable for his profess'd Poverty. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd him with an extraordinary Civility and Kindness, likewise offer'd him Gold, assuring him, *It was no otherwise than an hospitable Respect to a Person of his Excellencies; but all this had no effect upon the Steadiness of Fabricius's Temper.* The next Day, *Pyrrhus* trying all Methods to discompose him, commanded one of his largest Elephants, compleatly arm'd, to be plac'd
behind

behind the Hangings, and in the midst of their Discourse, upon a Sign given, the Tapestry was drawn aside, and the huge Elephant raising his Trunk over *Fabricius's* Head, made a hideous Noise. *Fabricius*, tho' he had never seen this Creature, was not at all afraid, but gently turning about, and smiling, said, *Neither your Gold yesterday, nor your dreadful Beast to day, can make any Impression upon me.* *Pyrrhus*, amaz'd at the Greatness of his Mind, releas'd the Prisoners, intrusting 'em to him alone, with nothing but a Promise, *That if the Senate accepted not of Peace, they shou'd return to him*; which accordingly they did, being commanded to do it by the Senate upon pain of Death. In the same Year, *Coruncanius*, *Lævinus's* Colleague, triumph'd over some of the *Hetrurians* who had revolted; and likewise this Year the *Lustrum* being perform'd, 278222 Free Citizens were ccs'd.

U. C.
474.

II. The Roman Army being now recruited, *Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *Decius Mus*, the Consuls for the following Year, were sent against *Pyrrhus*. The Romans had now learn'd not to fear the Elephants so much as formerly, and were very careful in observing and understanding *Pyrrhus's* Art and Conduct in Battel. Both Armies met about the City of *Asculum*, and *Pyrrhus* was incommoded by a woody Country very inconvenient for his Calvary, and a very swift Current of the River, that the Elephants, for want of sure Footing, could not get up with the Infantry: But after many wounded and kill'd, the Night put an end to the Engagement. The next Morning, *Pyrrhus* designing to fight on even Ground, and to have the Elephants in the thickest of the Enemy, caus'd a Detachment to possess themselves of those incommodious Grounds, and mixing Slingers and Archers among the Elephants, with great Courage advanc'd in a close and well order'd Body; and the Romans not having those Advantages of retreating and falling on as they had

had before, were oblig'd to fight Man to Man upon plain Ground, making a bloody Slaughter among the *Gracian* Spear-men, not minding or valuing what they suffer'd themselves: After a long and obstinate Fight, the *Romans* were so press'd upon, especially by the mighty Force of the Elephants and the *Gracian* Cavalry, and so overpower'd, that they retreated to their Camp with the loss of 6000 Men, the Enemy having lost nigh 4000. This Battel is variously related; but this is the truest Account that I can find of it.

After this Engagement, 'tis said, *Pyrrhus* reply'd to a Gentleman who congratulated him for his Victory, *If we overcome the Romans another time, we are utterly ruin'd.* For by this time he had lost a great Part of his Forces he had brought over, and almost all his particular Friends and Commanders. This Battel finish'd the Campaign, and the rest of the time was employ'd in taking Care for the next; at which time *Fabricius* himself was chosen Consul, together with *Æmilius Papus*. At the nigh Approach of the two Armies, *Fabricius* receiv'd a Letter from the King's principal Physician, offering to take off *Pyrrhus* by Poyson, and so end the War without farther hazard to the Romans, provided he might have a Reward proportionable to the Greatness of the Service. *Fabricius*, enrag'd at the Villany of the Physician, and disposing his Colleague to the same Opinion, immediately dispatch'd Letters to *Pyrrhus*, to let him know what an ill Choice he had made both of his Friends and Enemies; that he was in War with Honest Men, and trusted and promoted Villains; and that the Romans abhorr'd all Treacherous Practices, it being their Custom to conquer an Enemy by the Power of their own Arms, and not by Treason of the others Subjects. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd the Message with all Courtesy, and being more and more surpriz'd at the Roman Greatness and Generosity, he cry'd out, *This is that Fabricius, whom it is harder to turn from the Ways of Vertue and Honesty, than the Sun from its Course.* Such
was

was the noble Spirit of the *Romans* in these Days, where each Man minded the Honour of the Publick more than his own particular Profit.

Pyrrhus made a strict Enquiry into this Plot, and executed the Physician; and that he might not be excell'd in Generosity, he immediately sent to *Rome* all the Prisoners without Ransom, and again employ'd *Cineas* to negotiate a Peace with 'em, being now more desirous of their Alliance than ever: But whether the *Romans* believ'd their sending home so many Prisoners, too great an Obligation from an Enemy, or too great a Reward for barely not doing Ill, they would not accept of 'em *gratis*, but immediately releas'd as many of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*; and wou'd admit of no Debate of Alliance or Peace with *Pyrrhus*, till he had withdrawn his Forces from *Italy*, and sail'd back to *Epirus* in the same Ships that brought him over. The King was much confounded at this, being very unwilling to continue this War, and much more to quit it dishonourably; but in a short time after he was reliev'd by an Expedition into *Sicily*, he being intreated by the Inhabitants to expel the *Carthaginians*, and clear the Island of Tyrants. This prov'd an honourable Pretence of drawing off his Forces, and leaving *Italy*; therefore sending *Cineas* before, and putting a Garrison into *Tarentum*, tho' much against their Wills, he embark'd for *Sicily* with an Army of 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horse, after he had been in *Italy* two Years and four Months.

III. The Absence of *Pyrrhus* gave the *Romans* much Respite, or at least Leisure enough to punish the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, whom they warr'd against with good Success; they having little Hopes, but the Return of *Pyrrhus*, with whom they were very urgent, letting him to understand, That they were shut up in their Towns, which cou'd hardly be maintain'd without his Assistance. *Pyrrhus*, tho' he had

had been successful enough, within two Years, was glad to have so specious a Pretence of leaving *Sicily*, when his Carriage there had been so displeasing to many, that in a short time he must have left it with no other Pretence than Necessity and Self-preservation. About the time of his Return, there happened such a dreadful Plague in *Rome*, that *Cornelius Rufinus*, the last Year's Consul, was created *Dictator*, for the Ceremony of driving a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter*, which they by Tradition believ'd wou'd assuage the Distemper: And this was the third *Dictator* created upon this Account. The *Consuls* for the following Year were *Curius Dentatus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*; the former of which raising new Levies, was oppos'd by the People, who refus'd to list themselves. *Curius*, resolving to go through with his Designs, commanded the Name of every *Tribe* to be put into a Box; and the Lot falling upon the *Pollian Tribe*, the first that was drawn of that *Tribe* was cited; and not answering, he sold his Goods; and upon his appealing to the *Tribunes*, he sold the Man too, saying, *The Commonwealth stood in no need of such a Member as refus'd all Obedience.* The *Tribunes* at that time did not assist the Fellow; and ever after that, if any refus'd to list himself in a just Muster when commanded, it became a Custom to make a Slave of him.

Pyrrhus, by this time, had with some Difficulty and Danger got from *Sicily* to *Tarentum* with an Army of 20000 Foot and 3000 Horse, where increasing his Army by new Levies, he march'd into *Samnium*, where the *Romans* had gather'd together a powerful Army. *Pyrrhus* divided his Forces into two Parts, whereof one he sent into *Lucania* to hinder *Lentulus* from joining with his Colleague *Curius Dentatus*, against whom he directed his March, then advantageously posted nigh *Beneventum*. *Pyrrhus* hastning to attack him there before the other cou'd arrive with the choicest of his Men, and the fiercest of his Elephants, march'd in the Night-time towards the Ro-

man Camp, hoping to surprize 'em; but passing through Woods, his Lights fail'd him, and his Men lost their Way. Whereupon a Council of War being call'd, while they were in debate, and at the break of Day, his Approach was discover'd by the *Romans* as they march'd down the Hills, which put their whole Camp into much Disorder and Fear; but recovering themselves, *Curius* drew out his Troops in haste, and falling in with the Van-guard of *Pyrrhus*, put him to flight, killing many Men, and taking some Elephants. This Success very much discourag'd the rest of *Pyrrhus's* Troops, and *Curius* descending into the Plain, join'd Battel with the whole Army. In one Wing he repuls'd the Enemy, in the other, by the Violence of the Elephants, he was born back to his Trenches; where calling forth those who guarded 'em, they from the high Places so ply'd the Beasts with Darts and fir'd Pitch and Hemp, that they ran back upon their Friends, bearing down and breaking all their Ranks, so that the Victory fell to the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* having lost 23000 Men, according to *Eutropius*.

Pyrrhus's Camp was also taken, which was not only admir'd, but likewise prov'd of very great use afterwards; for anciently the *Romans* and the Nations about 'em were wont to pitch their Tents without Order, after the manner of Booths, in the midst of their several Battalions; but *Pyrrhus* measuring out his Ground, encamp'd his whole Army within a Trench. By his Example the *Romans* receiv'd great Light and Experience as to Warlike Affairs, and afterwards adding such things as they found necessary, they attain'd to the most absolute Skill in Encamping, in succeeding times. *Curius Dentatus* obtain'd a most splendid Triumph for his Victory, being grac'd with four Elephants, 1300 Prisoners of several Nations, with several Impliments of the *Tarentine* Luxury and Rarities. A few Days after, his Collegue triumph'd over the *Samnites* and *Lucani*: And this Year

was remarkable for the *Censorship* of *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, who remov'd *Rufinus*, and who had been twice *Consul*, and once *Dictator*, out of the Senate, for having ten Pound of Silver Plate for the use of his Table: And in this *Lustrum* 271224 Free Citizens were cens'd or poll'd. As for *Pyrrhus*, he bore his Defeat with undaunted Mind, and receiving Letters from *Greece* and *Asia*, he call'd the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, telling them that Assistance would soon come; which Report kept the *Romans* in their Camp: And so taking this Advantage, the Night following he pass'd undisturb'd into *Epirus* with 8000 Foot and 500 Horse, first leaving a Garrison in *Tarentum*, which was more to preserve his own Reputation than for any other Use. Thus in about six Years ended the Wars with the famous *Pyrrhus*, a Person esteem'd the ablest Commander of all the Kings in that time, both for Military Experience and Personal Valour; but he knew better how to Conquer than how to Keep; and from him the *Romans* did not only improve the Art of Encamping, but likewise learn'd to avoid Plains, and better to sustain the Shock of a disciplin'd Cavalry, which before they had despis'd.

IV. The *Roman* Name, which before had been famous, was now become formidable, after the Overthrow of so great a Man as *Pyrrhus*, which made way for farther Conquests, and the Establishment of the *Roman* Empire. In the second Year after *Pyrrhus's* Retreat, *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, sent Ambassadors to congratulate the *Roman* Success, and to enter into an Alliance with 'em. The *Romans*, to shew him the greater Respect, likewise sent Ambassadors to *Egypt*, where they were most courteously receiv'd, and sent home laden with Gifts and Presents. The following Year, the *Tarentines* not being able to remove the Garrison *Pyrrhus* had left under *Milo*, desir'd Aid of the *Carthaginians*; and with them

U. C.
480.

giving Battel to the *Romans*, were overthrown. *Milo*, sensible how unable he was to resist, by leave from the Consul *Papirius*, departed with his Men, and quitted the *Castle*, which the *Romans* possessing, easily became Masters of the City, the Walls whereof they demolish'd. Peace and Liberty were granted to all the Citizens; and this Year the two Consuls triumph'd, having finish'd both the *Tarentine* and *Samnite* Wars in the Year 481. The latter of these had, with some Intermissions, continu'd seventy-one Years; and over these the *Romans* triumph'd thirty times, namely, *Consuls* twenty-six, *Dictators* twice, and *Pro-Consuls* as many.

Now the *Romans* grew much too powerful for their Neighbours, for the greatest Part of *Italy* was now conquer'd, an Accession being made not only of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*, but of the *Lucanians* also, and not long before of the *Hebrurians*. After this, the *Campanian* Legion, who had treacherously seiz'd upon *Rhegium*, and kept it to themselves, were besieg'd, and upon Surrender, put to death by fifty at a time. Soon after, the Inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum*, sending Ambassadors to *Rome*, some extravagant and unruly Noblemen fell upon 'em and beat 'em; but the *Romans* were so just as to deliver 'em up to the *Apollonians*. In the same Year the *Picentes* were subdu'd, and Colonies were sent to *Arminium* in the Country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*. About the same time was Silver first coin'd in *Rome*, whereas Brass had only been in use till now, their Riches being increas'd by their Conquests, and large quantities of Silver were found in a Castle of the *Samnites*. A Year after, the *Sabines*, who some Years past had been made Denizens of *Rome*, receiv'd now also the Power of Voting in Elections. About four Years after that, the Number of the *Quæstors* were increas'd from four to eight; and in the same Year the Reduction of the *Umbri* and *Sallentini*, together with the City of *Brundisium*, compleated the Conquest of all *Italy*.

Now

U.C.
484.

Quæstors
increas'd.

Now were the *Roman Dominions* much larger than ever, containing the whole Body of old *Italy*, and the several *Italian Nations*, being about 500 Miles long, and 130 broad, which comprehended about one half of that Country which now goes by the Name of *Italy*, as was formerly observ'd. Just at the same time began the first *Punick* or *Carthaginian War*, in the 489th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3740, in the 4th Year of the 128th *Olympiad*, 244 since the beginning of the *Consular State*, 125 since the Destruction of the City by the *Gauls*, 65 since the beginning of the *Macedonian Empire* by *Alexander the Great*, and 263 before our Saviour's Nativity.

U. C.
489.



C H A P. IX.

From the Beginning of the first Punick War, to the Beginning of the second, the Romans now growing powerful by Sea as well as by Land.

Containing the Space of 47 Years.

I. **T**HE *Carthaginians* made up a very large and powerful Commonwealth, commanding most of that part of *Africa* which now goes by the general Name of *Barbary*; their *Dominions* extending about 2000 Miles in length, all bordering upon the Sea; having besides the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and the greatest part of *Sicily*, with other lesser Isles. The Occasion of the *Romans War* with this Nation, was, their joining with *Hiero King of Syracuse* against the *Mamertines*, and for besieging *Messana*, which oblig'd that People to send to *Rome* for Succour. The *Romans* had not forgot the *Carthaginians* assisting the *Tarentines* against them not long before; and because the former Carriage of the *Mamertines* was not easily justify'd, they made that their Pretence of their de-

U. C.
489.

declaring War against the *Carthaginians*. And *Appius Claudius*, one of the Consuls, was immediately sent over to *Sicily* with an Army and a small Fleet. With much Danger and Difficulty he pass'd the Streights between *Italy* and *Sicily*, but with that Success, that he rais'd the Siege of *Messana* in a short time, and after that defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two several Battels. *Appius* return'd to *Rome* with a noble Triumph, which was the first that ever was obtain'd upon the Account of Foreign Actions. Notwithstanding the great wasting of the People by continual Wars, 292224 Free Citizens were cels'd this Year; and in this Year *D. Junius Brutus* first brought in the Custom of having Fencing-Matches perform'd by *Gladiators* at Funerals, a Custom very much in use afterwards.

The following Year, both the Consuls were order'd for *Sicily*, with all their Legions. And they manag'd the War so successfully, that going to invest *Syracuse* it self, *Hiero* was affrighted into Obedience, perceiving that the *Romans* most probably wou'd be Conquerors; and so he made Peace upon these Terms, To restore all their Prisoners without Ransom, and to pay a hundred Talents of Silver. The *Romans* more readily embrac'd the Alliance, because the *Carthaginians* being Masters at Sea, they cou'd not safely supply the Armies with Provisions and Necessaries, expecting that he shou'd chiefly take care about that Affair. *Valerius*, one of this Year's Consuls, from *Messana* had the Surname of *Messala*, who also having taken *Catana*, carry'd from thence a new Sundial to *Rome*, *Papirius Cursor* having 30 Years before set up the first that ever was in this City. This, tho' not perfect, the People made use of 99 Years, till *M. Philippus* the Censor set up a perfect one by it; and about that time, *Scipio Nasica* being Censor, first made the equal Division of the Day into Hours, by Water dropping out of one Vessel into another. This Year the City being much afflicted with a Pestilence, a Dictator

Dictator was created for the Ceremony of driving a Nail into *Jupiter's* Temple: This was *Fulvius Maximus*, who made *Marcus Philippus* his Master of the Horse; and he was the fourth *Dictator* created upon this Account.

Dic. liv.
U. C.
490.

The Romans, by the Alliance with *Hiero*, found themselves so eas'd of the Burden of the War, that the following Year they sent but two Legions to *Sicily*; at which time *Agrigentum* was invested by the Romans; and *Annibal*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, who came to relieve it, was overthrown by *Posthumus* and *Mamilius* the Consuls at Land; so after a long Siege it was taken. The News of this was very grateful to the Citizens of *Rome*, who had began to think of nothing less than the clearing of *Sicily*, and the Conquest of that Island; and to that they directed all their Counsels. On Land indeed they seem'd sufficiently prosperous, for the two succeeding Consuls manag'd the War with good Success; but the *Carthaginians* without Controversy being entire Masters at Sea, by that means procur'd the Maritime Towns to revolt to them: So that the War was not only balanc'd between the two Interests, but *Italy* was also grievously infested with the *Carthaginian* Fleet, while *Africk* was out of all danger. These Considerations caus'd 'em diligently to apply themselves to Sea-Affairs, of which they were wholly ignorant before; therefore they found it a Matter of extraordinary difficulty as well to build Vessels as to make use of 'em; for *Italy* had been as free from Shipwrights as from Seamen. Having thoroughly observ'd a *Carthaginian* Vessel or two driven ashore, they set about 100 Vessels of five Oars of a side, and 20 of three, which they fitted out as well as they cou'd, after an odd way, teaching their Men to row upon Dry-Land; well knowing that their Courages must supply all other Defects.

Thus meanly rigg'd out, in the fourth Year of this War, the Consuls *Cornelius* and *Duilius* boldly ventur'd

themselves abroad, and more boldly ventur'd to engage an Enemy, who for many Ages had been the Inheritors of the Dominions of the Sea, both by their Power and their Skill; a thing much admir'd by all Historians. *Cornelius* the Admiral parting from the rest of his Company with 17 Gallies to reduce *Lipara*, was surpriz'd by a greater Number of the *Carthaginians*, and taken with the rest of his Fleet. But his Collegue *Duilius* was much more successful, first defeating 50 Sail of the Enemy, then falling upon the rest of their Fleet, by the help of a new invented Engine to grapple with their Vessels, by which they cou'd board 'em, and fight as on Land, he obtain'd a signal Victory over 'em, taking 50 of their Vessels; then pursuing it, rais'd the Siege of *Ægesta*, and took *Marcella* by Storm. These Successes were so unexpected by the Senate, that they decreed *Duilius* unusual Honours; for besides his obtaining the Glory of the first Naval Triumph, he was ever after attended from Supper with Musick and Flambeaus. *Annibal* on the other side, to secure himself from Punishment, with all speed sent one of his Friends to *Carthage* before the Battel was known here, who gave an Account to the Senate, that the *Romans* were under Sail with a great Fleet, and he wanted Instructions about engaging 'em. The Senate, upon this, gave Orders to fight without delay; to whom the Messenger reply'd, *That he had already fought, and was overthrown*; by which means he prevented their condemning an Action they had but just before approv'd of.

This Year the *Romans* had but small Success by Land, for a Breach between the Legions and the Auxiliaries occasion'd a Separation; which Advantage *Amilcar* the General of the *Carthaginians* Forces, so far improv'd, as to cut off 4000 of 'em. But the Advantages gain'd by Sea so far animated the *Romans*, that the following Year they invaded the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and with so good Success, that *Hanno* the
Carthaginian

Carthaginian General there, was slain, and his Army cut off by *Cornelius Scipio* the Consul. This Victory was follow'd by another over *Annibal*, whom they surpriz'd at Sea, newly recruited from *Carthage*; for which the unfortunate Admiral was crucify'd by his own Soldiers that out-liv'd the Defeat. The next Year many Towns were lost and gain'd in *Sicily* on both sides; but above all, a noble Action of *Calpurnius Flemma*, a Tribune of the Army, was most remarkable; for *Attilius Calatinus* the Consul, having carelessly brought his Army into such a desperate Place, as there was no hopes of escaping, *Calpurnius*, with 300 choice Men, possess'd themselves of an Eminence just by, and with incredible Courage so diverted the whole Body of the *Carthaginians*, that the Consul's Army had Opportunity in passing with little Opposition. *Calpurnius* was the only Person that surviv'd of the 300, being miserably wounded, and cover'd with dead Bodies. The next Year, *Attilius Regulus* the Consul subdu'd the Islands *Lipara* and *Melita*, the latter famous for the Shipwreck of *St. Paul*, and since call'd *Malta*: In which Year certain Prodigies in *Rome*, or the Belief of such, occasion'd the creating of a *Dictator*, *Dic. Iv.* for the celebrating the *Latin* Holy-days, which was *U. C.* *Ogulneius Gallus*, his Master of the Horse being *Lætorius Plancianus*; and this was the second *Dictator* 490. created upon this Account.

II. Now had this War continu'd eight Years; *U. C.* when the *Romans*, finding themselves so strong by Sea 497. as well as by Land, resolv'd to remove the Seat of the War into *Africk*; and accordingly put to Sea with a Fleet of 330 Sail, under the Command of the Consuls *Regulus* and *Manlius*. The *Carthaginians*, being sensible how necessary it was to keep the War from their own Walls, oppos'd 'em with a Fleet of 350 Sail, and a threefold Battel was fought on the same Day, in which the *Romans*, by the help of their Grap-
ling

ling Engines, and their undaunted Courages, became Conquerors, taking 54 Ships, with all their Men, and sinking 30, losing themselves but 24 without their Men. In pursuance of this Victory, they made a Descent upon *Africk*, whose nighest Part was about 200 Miles from *Sicily*, and shortly after had *Clupea* surrendered to 'em, a City seated upon the Promontory *Hermæa*. This done, they march'd into the Country, laying Waste all before them, which they did without Opposition; but soon after they receiv'd Instructions from the *Senate*, that *Regulus* should remain in *Africk*, in Character of *Pro-consul*, with 40 Ships, 15000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and *Manlius* should return to *Rome* with the remaining Forces. *Regulus* encamping upon the River *Bagrada*, was forc'd to engage a monstrous Serpent of a miraculous Bigness, which, with the great Trouble of his Army, and by the Help of the Battering-Engines, he slew, sending its Skin to *Rome*, which was 120 Foot long, according to *Livy* and *Gellius*.

The *Carthaginians* finding the *Romans* so successful, oppos'd *Regulus* with a considerable Army; but fighting in a Place where their Horse and Elephants cou'd do but little service, were soon defeated, and *Tunetum* or *Tunis*, in a short space was taken by *Regulus*. But the *Carthaginians* having procur'd *Xantippus*, a brave *Lacedæmonian*, for their General, soon after gave *Regulus* a dreadful Overthrow, he himself being taken Prisoner, and most of his Army cut off, the rest escaping to *Clupea*. But *Xantippus* met with more barbarous and ungrateful Usage than *Regulus*; for the *Carthaginians* pretending to conduct him home honourably, commanded the Seamen to throw him and his Companions over-board, lest so great a Victory shou'd be ascrib'd to the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Appian* relates it. The *Romans* were besieg'd in *Clupea*, till their Enemies perceiving the small probability of reducing 'em, broke up the Siege, and made all Preparations for

for the opposing the Succours sent under *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fabius Nobilior*, the following Year's Consul. These Consuls putting to Sea with 350 Sail, were met by the *Carthaginians*, nigh their own Coasts, whom they entirely defeated, taking 30 Ships, and sinking 104, with the Loss only of 9 of their own. After this, the Consuls took in the *Roman* Garrison from *Clupea*, and set Sail again for *Sicily*, expecting to have several Towns there surrender'd to 'em upon the News of this Victory; but before they cou'd make the Shore, there arose such a dreadful Storm, that most of their Ships were swallow'd up, or split upon Rocks; so that the Shore was fill'd with dead Bodies and broken Pieces of Ships, both the Consuls perish'd, and those few that escap'd, *Hiero* kindly receiv'd; and furnishing 'em with Cloaths and other Necessaries, convey'd 'em safe to *Messana*.

Karthalo the *Carthaginian* immediately taking Advantage of this great Misfortune, besieg'd *Agrigentum*, and soon after took it, and demolish'd the Fortifications of it. The *Romans*, nothing discourag'd at the great Losses sustain'd by the Tempest, immediately set about building 220 Vessels, which they prosecuted with that extraordinary Diligence and Expedition, that in three Monthstime they were both built and launch'd. On the other side, *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, with his *Veterane* Troops and *Levies*, arriv'd at *Sicily*, with a Fleet of 200 Sail old and new. The Consuls *Attilius* and *Cornelius* being order'd for *Sicily* this Year, manag'd the War so prosperously, as to take several Towns; after which they return'd. Their Successors, *Servilius* and *Sempronius*, in the following Spring, pass'd into *Sicily* with the whole Fleet, and from thence to *Africk*, were coasting about, they landed in many Places, but perform'd nothing very memorable. At last they touch'd upon the Island of the *Lotephagi*, call'd *Meninx*, nigh the *Lesser Syrtis*; where being ignorant of these Coasts, they fell upon
certain

certain Quick-sands ; but getting off with much difficulty, they return'd to *Panormus* in *Sicily* in a flying Posture. Then sailing for *Rome*, thro' the Streights, very unadvisedly, they were taken in a Storm, and 150 of the Ships lost. This same Year the Censors calling over the *Senate*, turn'd out thirteen Members for Misdemeanors, and performing the *Lustrum*, 297797, Free Citizens were poll'd.

Tho' the Senate and People of *Rome* were extremely vigorous in all great Attempts, being push'd on by an extraordinary Desire of Glory ; yet the Losses at Sea had now been so great and numerous, that they were constrain'd to omit Naval Preparations, and Place all their Hopes in their Land-Forces. *Cæcilius* and *Metellus* were sent into *Sicily* with the Legions, and 60 Transport-Vessels, only for Necessaries ; and they did not only yield the Dominion of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*, but fear'd 'em also at Land, by reason of their great Preparations, but especially for their Elephants, which had oftentimes much annoy'd 'em. *Asdrubal*, the *Punick* General, understanding their Fears, and that one of the Consuls was now return'd to *Italy* with half the Army, with great Assurance and Confidence ravag'd all the Country about *Panormus*, and with the more Carelessness and Security, because *Metellus* kept himself within the Walls. But the Consul taking an Opportunity, so well plac'd his Men against the Elephants, that when *Asdrubal* came nigh the Town, he gave him a dreadful Overthrow, killing 20000 Men, and taking 26 Elephants ; for which he had a noble Triumph. The *Carthaginians* immediately lost all *Sicily* except *Lilybaum* and *Depranum*, to the former of which Places *Asdrubal* escap'd ; but being condemn'd at *Carthage*, he was taken and put to death as soon as he return'd ; the unhappy Fate of many *Carthaginian* Generals.

Losers, and wearied out with a tedious War, which had now continu'd 14 Years, began to solicit for Peace, and sent to the Senate to treat about it: With the Ambassadors, *Regulus* also was sent, who had been five Years Prisoner, and was now bound with an Oath to return to *Carthage*, in case there was no Peace nor Exchange of Prisoners made. *Regulus* contrary to the Expectation of all, openly in the Senate discovered the Weakness of the *Carthaginians*, and advis'd the *Romans* to make no Peace; shewing withal, both how honourable and profitable it might be to the State to prosecute the War. The Senate seem'd well satisfy'd with the Advice, if it were to be follow'd without Prejudice to the Adviser, whom they pity'd as well as admir'd, and cou'd not determine any thing to the Ruin of a Person who had deserv'd so well at their Hands. Upon that account they desir'd him to stay; but he, with an undaunted Resolution, told 'em, *That he knew that Death and the extremest Tortures were preparing for him at Carthage, but still he could not comply with their Requests, who might have better us'd their Commands, had he been still his Country's Servant, as he was Africk's Slave, and upon that account not capable of living as became a Citizen of Rome: Yet however he had so much of the true Spirit of a Roman, that he cou'd do nothing that was base or dishonourable; and that he less fear'd the Tortures of a cruel Rack, than the Shame of an infamous Action, for the former only touch'd the Body, whereas the latter pierc'd the Mind.*

All means were used to persuade *Regulus* to stay, both by his Friends and others, which he avoided as much as possible, refusing to speak with his Wife, and shunning the Embraces and Kisses of his little Children: And when the Negotiation was at an end, he return'd to *Carthage*, there ending his Days in great Torments; For, first they cut off his Eye-lids, keeping him in a dark Dungeon for a while, then brought him out in the midst of the Day, with his
Face

Face turn'd full against the Sun : At last he was put into a Chest or Barrel, stuck with Nails with the Points inward, and so narrow, that he cou'd have no Ease, where he died with the Extremity of the Pain. When the Senate heard of the barbarous Usage of *Regulus*, in great Rage they deliver'd up some Prisoners of the highest Note and Quality to *Marcia* his Wife, who shut 'em up in an Armory stuck round with Iron Spikes, designing to torment them after the same manner that her Husband had been, and keeping 'em five Days together without Meat : in which time *Bostar* the *Carthaginian*, with Pain and Hunger, died ; but *Hamilcar*, being a stronger Man, was kept in, together with the dead Body of *Bostar*, five Days longer, having only so much Sustenance allow'd him as might serve to prolong his Life in Misery. At last, the Magistrates being inform'd of this, began to relent, and strictly forbid any more such Usage, commanded that *Bostar's* Ashes shou'd be sent home, and the rest of the Prisoners should be us'd more moderately : Which was done to let the Enemy know, *That the Romans were too generous to insult over the Miseries of unhappy Men, or to countenance any cruel Actions, tho' they had been incited by the highest Provocations, and all the Sentiments of a most just Retaliation.*

The following Year, because the Land-Forces were very fearful of the Enemies Elephants, and pursu'd their Affairs with small Vigour, the *Romans* provided another Fleet, and besieg'd *Lilybaeum* by Sea and Land, a Town standing upon the Southern Promontory of *Sicily* overagainst *Africk*. The *Romans* were very unsuccessful in this Expedition, losing most of their Ships in a short time, partly by the Mismanagement of the Consul *Claudius Pulcher*, and partly by other Misfortunes ; so that the whole Fleet was soon reduc'd to an inconsiderable Number. *Lilybaeum* was still closely invested by Land ; but the small Successes of the present Consuls and other Losses, occasion'd
the

the creating of a *Dictator* to command the Forces in *Sicily*: This was *Attilius Calatinus*, who appointed *Cacilius Metellus*, who had triumph'd over the *Carthaginians*, for his *Master of the Horse*, and was the first *Dictator* that ever led an Army out of *Italy*; but nothing memorable was acted by him in *Sicily* before the Time of his Office expir'd. The *Romans* now began to feel the Weight and Charge of the War more than ever; and they found that the City was not only drain'd of Money, but of Men too: For in the next *Lustrum* there were but 251222 Free Citizens poll'd.

Dic. lvi.
U. C.
504.

For seven Years did the *Romans* abstain from any Sea-Preparation, in which time another *Dictator* was created in the Consul's Absence for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, which was *Coruncanius Nepos*, and his *Master of the Horse* was *Fulvius Flaccus*. At this time *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, extremely infested the Coasts of *Italy*, which made the *Romans* resolve once more to try their Fortune at Sea; and accordingly they fitted out a considerable Navy out of their private Purses, the Treasury being now exhausted. With this they gave the *Carthaginians* a notable Overthrow nigh the *Ægatian* Isles, taking and sinking 120 of their Ships, according to the most modest Computation. This great Loss brought 'em to a Peace, which, after two Consultations, was concluded upon these Articles; First, That the *Carthaginians* shou'd lay down 1000 Talents of Silver, and 2200 more within 10 Years time: Secondly, That they shou'd quit *Sicily*: with all the Isles thereabouts: Thirdly, That they shou'd never make War upon the *Syracusians*, or their Allies, nor come with any Vessels of War within the Roman Dominions: And Fourthly, That they shou'd deliver up all their Prisoners without Ransom, as also the Deserters. Thus ended the first *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, by the Greek Writers call'd the *Cicilian* War, after it had continu'd 24 Years, in the 513th Year of the City, 23 Years before the Second, and 249 before our Saviour's Nativity;

Dic. lvii.
U. C.
510.

ty; wherein the *Romans* are said to have lost 700 Vessels, and the *Carthaginians* no more than 500.

U. C.

513.

Tribes increas'd the last time.

U. C.

514.

First *Tragedies* and *Comedies* in *Rome*.

Ludi Sæculares.

IV. All Affairs now seem'd to succeed prosperously with the *Romans*, and in the same Year that this long War was ended, two new *Tribes* were added to the rest, namely, the *Veline* and *Quirine*, which now made up the Number 35, which Number was never after exceeded. At this time the *Romans* began to grow more polite, a little applying their Minds to something of Study and Learning, particularly *Poetry*; and the Year after this War, the first *Tragedies* and *Comedies* were made by *Livius Andronicus*, a *Græcian* by Birth, one Year before *Ennius* the Poet was born, about 160 after the Deaths of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and 62 after that of *Menander*. He drew the Minds of the People from the Use of the *Satire* which had immediately succeeded the old *Stage-Plays*, call'd *Ludi Fescennini*, spoken of in the Sixth Chapter of this Book; which *Satire* was a sort of a *Dramatick Poem*, full of Jests and Railery, wholly different from the *Satires* of *Lucilius* and *Horace* afterwards. *Nævius* was the first Poet that follow'd his Example, five Years after, the Year before which were celebrated the great *Secular Games* the third time, which were also call'd *Ludi magni*, and *Ludi Tarentini*, and were of two sorts; the Greater, celebrated every 120 Years, and first instituted in the 298th Year of the City; and the Lesser, celebrated every 100 Years, and first instituted about the 305th Year of the City, after the Banishment of the *Decemviri*: But these now celebrated were of the former sort. There were also other Games call'd *Ludi Tarentini*, which were very different from the *Ludi Sæculares*, which I mention, that Learners may avoid Confusion.

But to return to the *Roman Affairs*; the *Carthaginians*, soon after their Peace with the *Romans*, fell into a bloody War between themselves and their Mercenary

nary Soldiers, which proceeded both from their Want of Pay, and their Want of Employment; and this, with much Difficulty and Loss, was ended by *Amilcar*, after more than three Years. During which time, several of the *Romans* who traded into *Africk*, were secur'd by the *Carthaginians*, lest they shou'd furnish their Enemies with Provisions. But when Ambassadors were sent to *Carthage* to complain of this Usage, they kindly dismiss'd all that were in Custody; which so affected the *Romans*, that they generously sent 'em all their Prisoners without Ransom, and for a short Space there seem'd to be an extraordinary Friendship between these two Nations. But soon after their Troubles were ended, the *Sardinians* inviting over the *Romans* to that Island, they sail'd thither, which much offended the *Carthaginians*, who thought themselves to have the greatest Right to it; so they prepar'd to send Forces thither. The *Romans* took an Occasion from thence to proclaim War against 'em, complaining, *That these Preparations were design'd more against them, than the Sardinians.* This so terrify'd the *Carthaginians*, who found themselves in no Condition to begin a new War, that they were forc'd to yield to Necessity, and not only quit all *Sardinia*, but farther, to pay the *Romans* 1200 Talents. This, tho' submitted to at present, prov'd afterwards the Occasion of a more bloody and dangerous War than the former. In the sixth Year after the *Carthaginian* War, the *Romans* being in perfect Peace with all their Neighbours, the Temple of *Janus* was shut the second time, it having been open 437 Years. In the following Year was the first Divorce in *Rome*; and two Years after a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia*, and this was *C. Duilius*, his Master of the Horse being *Aurelius Cotta*.

Dic. lvi.iii.
U. C.

522.

For five Years successively the Temple of *Janus* continu'd shut, and in the sixth was open'd by a War with the *Illyrians*, a People nigh *Greece*, who inhabited

that Country which is now call'd *Dalmatia*: For *Teuta* Queen of that Nation, elevated by her Prosperity in Peace, gave her Subjects Commission to rob all they met with at Sea; some of which happen'd to be Merchants of *Italy*, whom they used very barbarously. Upon Intelligence of this, the Romans dispatch'd two Ambassadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Coruncanus*, to *Illyricum* to demand Satisfaction. *Teuta* told 'em, That she would take care that no publick Injury shou'd be offer'd to the Romans; but she thought it was never the Custom of Princes to hinder their Subjects from making what private Advantage they cou'd from the Sea. But *Lucius* smartly told her, That the Romans had learn'd a better Custom, which was, to punish Private Injuries with a Publick Revenge, and to relieve the Distressed; and they, by the Help of the Gods, wou'd take care to reform her Princely Customs. The Queen took this Freedom so heinously, that, contrary to the Law of Nations, she sent after the Ambassadors, and slew *Lucius*. This so enrag'd the Romans, that War was immediately proclaim'd against her, and the two Consuls sent to *Illyricum*, *Fluvius* with a Fleet, and *Posthumius* with a Land Army. *Fluvius* had *Corcyra* surrender'd to him at his first Appearance before it, and soon after took *Apollonia*; then the Armies joining, the Consuls reliev'd *Dyrrachium*, which was invested by the *Illyrians*. Soon after, most of the *Illyrick* Towns were surrender'd to the Consuls; whereupon the Queen retir'd with a few Followers to *Rhizon*, a strong Town, and the Spring after sent to *Rome* to beg Peace, which was granted upon these Terms: First, To pay a yearly Tribute: Secondly, To quit all *Illyricum*, except a very few Places: And, Thirdly, Not to sail beyond the River *Lissus* with more than two Barks, and those unarm'd. Thus ended the first *Illyrian* War, in less than two Years Time.

V. These Wars in *Illyricum* still enlarg'd the Roman Dominions, and their generous Behaviour gain'd 'em

'em as much Love as their Valour had got 'em Reputation in those Parts, particularly among the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; the latter of which pass'd a Decree in Honour of 'em, which made 'em free of the *Isthmian Games*, one of the Four Solemn Exercises of *Greece*. And this same Year were the *Prators* increas'd to Four, one being sent to the Province of *Sicily*, and another to that of *Sardinia*. In the mean time Domestick Disturbances about the Division of Lands taken from the *Gauls*, awaken'd that Nation, who concluding, that the *Romans* fought more out of Covetousness than Glory, began that War, which the *Latine* Historians call'd *Bellum Gallicum Cisalpinum*. These fierce People, now join'd in Confederacy, sent over the *Alps* for other *Gauls*, call'd *Gessatæ*, nigh the River *Rhosne*, who came over with a prodigious Force, and joining with the rest, made an Irruption into *Hetruria*, with an Army of 50000 Foot and 20000 Horse. The *Romans*, to oppose 'em, made the greatest Preparations that had been known, all *Italy* being up in Arms, to the Number of Seven or Eight hundred thousand Men, which were plac'd in several Parts to be readiness upon all Occasions: And the Consuls themselves led a particular Army of 50800 Foot, and 4200 Horse.

The *Gauls* now entring *Hetruria*, wasted all with Fire and Sword till they came to *Clusium*, about three Days Journey from *Rome*; where they were block'd up by the *Romans*, the *Prætor* on their Back, and the *Consuls* before, possessing themselves of all the Passes, insomuch that they were forc'd to form two Fronts, and fight very disadvantageously, both by reason of their Nakedness, and the Unfitness of their Arms. But the Vanity of the *Gessatæ* prov'd the most injurious to 'em, for they throwing off all their Clothes, would needs fight naked, and began the first Charge; and these being easily broken, so discourag'd the rest, that all fled. The *Gauls* were miserably slaughter'd, 40000 of 'em

Prætor. in-
creas'd.
U. C.
527.

U. C.
529.

being kill'd, and 10000 taken Prisoners; among the rest, *Concolitanus*, a King of the *Gessatae*. The Consuls obtain'd a most splendid Triumph for this Victory, scarce any being more remarkable for the Number of the Prisoners, or the Variety and Value of the Spoils. The next Year great Inroads were made into the Territories of the *Gauls*, they being several times overthrown: At which time the Consuls being abroad, a Dictator was created to hold the *Comitia* for a new Election; which was *Cacilius Metellus*, and *Fabius Buteo*, his Master of the Horse, or Lieutenant.

Dic.lix.
U. C.
530.

U. C.
532.

The *Gauls* were now so harass'd and weakned, that they sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to beg Peace on any Terms; but *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cornelius Scipio* put a stop to that Affair, and stirr'd up the Multitude to continue the War. Whereupon the *Gauls*, now grown desperate, resolv'd to make their last Efforts, and procur'd 30000 Auxiliaries from the *Gessatae*. The Consuls march'd into the Country of the *Insubres*, and open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Acerræ*; whereupon the *Gauls* invested *Clastidium*, a Confederate Town of the Romans. *Marcellus*, with two Thirds of his Cavalry, and a small Detachment of light-arm'd Footmen, march'd both Night and Day towards the Enemy; and notwithstanding the great Inequality of the Numbers, and the extraordinary Fatigue of the long Marches, he fell upon 'em, and after a bloody Battel overthrew 'em. *Marcellus* with his own Hands kill'd *Virdomarus*, King of the *Gessatae*, and dedicated the third *Opima Spolia*, or Royal Spoils, to *Jupiter Feretrius*, obtaining likewise a noble Triumph. Those that escap'd fled to *Mediolanum*, now call'd *Milan*, the chief City of the *Insubrian Gauls*, which being shortly after taken, the *Gallick War* was ended, after six Years continuance, to the considerable Enlargement of the *Roman Dominions*, Colonies being planted not long after at *Cremona*, and at *Placentia*.

About

About this time, a multitude of *Libertini* or Freed Slaves, which liv'd dispers'd among all the *Tribes*, gave great Disturbances to the City, which occasion'd the *Censors* at the next *Lustrum* to confine all these to four *Tribes*, namely, *Esquilina*, *Palatina*, *Suburrana*, and *Collina*: At which time were also 270213 Free Citizens cens'd. In the same Censorship *C. Flaminius*, one of the *Censors*, built a *Cirque*, and pav'd the High-way as far as *Arminium*, 130 Miles, both which great Works were afterwards call'd by his Name. Within a Year after, the *Illyrians* revolting, were reduc'd by *Æmilius* and *Livius* the *Consuls*, tho' with some Difficulty and Trouble. But the greatest Concern the *Romans* had now, was the successful Progress of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, who now had gain'd a great part of that Country, and more than all, had taken *Saguntus*, a Town in Alliance with *Rome*, after they were desir'd to desist. This caus'd the *Romans* to send their Ambassadors to *Carthage*, to require their General *Hannibal* to be deliver'd up, and if that were not granted, to denounce War. The Ambassadors finding the *Carthaginians* very little inclin'd to give any Satisfaction, the Senior of 'em holding out the Skirt of his Robe, told the Senate, *Here we bring you War or Peace; chuse which you please.* The Chief of the other answer'd, *Deliver which you will:* The Roman replying, *War*; the other accepted of it. And thus began the second *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, 23 Years after the first, in the 536th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3787, in the third Year of the 140th *Olympiad*, 291 Years since the Beginning of the *Consular State*, 172 since the Destruction of the City by the *Gauls*, 112 since the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 216 before our Saviour's Nativity.

U. C.
534.



C H A P. X.

From the Beginning of the Second Punick War, to the Finishing of it by Scipio Africanus; when the Romans became perfect in the Arts of War.

Containing the Space of 17 Years.

U.C. 536. I. **T**HE War being broke out a second time between these two Rival Nations, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, the latter committing the Management of it to *Hannibal*, *Amilcar's* Son, now in *Spain*, a Person of wonderful Abilities as to War, both for Conduct and Valour, of a hardy, laborious, and indefatigable Body, as well as fierce, daring, and undaunted Mind. This General had sworn himself a mortal Enemy to the *Romans*; and having over-run all *Spain* to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, he resolv'd to run any Danger or Hazard, so he might procure the Ruin of the *Roman* State: therefore leaving *Hanno* with a sufficient Force to guard that Country, he cross'd the *Pyrenean* Mountains into *Gaul*, with an Army of 50000 Foot, and 9000 Horse, of different Nations and Languages. From whence he shortly pass'd the *Rhofne* with great Danger and Difficulty, the River there being swift and spacious, and its Banks cover'd with many and dangerous Enemies. In ten Days March from thence, he arriv'd at the Foot of the *Alps*, over which he resolv'd to pass into *Italy*, notwithstanding the lateness of the Season, the Fears of his Men, his Ignorance of the Ways, the Labour of the March, and all the numerous Perils and Hazards that attended so vast an Enterprize.

It was now in the midst of Winter, and every thing appear'd strange and dreadful, the prodigious Height of the Mountains, cap'd with Snows; the
rude

rude mis-shapen Cottages on the Sides of craggy steep Rocks; the Cattel, Sheep, and Horses, parch'd and stiff with Cold; the People barbarous, and with long shagg'd Hair like Savages, and nothing to be seen but a general Scene of Deformity and Horror. The Soldiers in this March, besides their Fears, were extremely afflicted with the Greatness of the Colds, and grievously harra's'd by the narrow Defiles, the slippery Passages, and the craggy Rocks, but more especially by the Inhabitants, who, from their Lurking-places, fell often upon 'em with great Slaughter; and sometimes by their unusual Shouts and Out-cries, which were redoubl'd by the Echoes between the Rocks and Valleys, their Horses were so affrighted as they frequently overthrew themselves, Men, and Carriages, down these narrow Precipices, who falling from one Rock to another, made a dreadful Rumbling, as if it were the Fall of some Castle or great Building. Nevertheless, after nine Days painful March thro' these untrodden Paths, *Hannibal* at last gain'd the Top of these vast Mountains, where he refresh'd his Men, and encourag'd their fainting Minds by a distant Prospect of *Italy*, telling 'em, *That now, like hardy Soldiers, they had mounted not only the Walls of Italy, but those of Rome too.*

After two Days Respite among these dismal Places, the Army mov'd forward, and were forc'd to encounter with new Difficulties; for prodigious Quantities of Snow being lately fallen, as many Men were lost in the Depth of that, as had been before by the Enemies Encounters. And now a sort of Despair appear'd in almost every Man's Face but *Hannibal's*, who still remain'd steady and unshaken, inciting 'em forward till they arriv'd at a Place, which was a rocky Precipice, where the Earth had lately fallen away to the Depth of 1000 Foot; so that it was impossible to pass with Elephants or Horses. Whereupon he endeavour'd to bring his Men through other unknown Ways; but

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finding

finding the Snow had made 'em impaffable, he was forc'd to betake himself to the levelling the Rock. In order to that, great Numbers of huge Trees were fell'd, and a mighty Pile made against it, and set on Fire; when the Rock was red hot, they softned and putrefy'd it with Vinegar; as *Livy* relates it, and then with wonderful Labour cleav'd it, lessening the Descent by such moderate Turnings, that not only the Beasts of Burden, but the Elephants also, might safely pass. Four Days indefatigable Toil was employ'd about this Rock, the Beasts the mean while being almost starv'd, having had very little Sustenance all that Time. But coming lower, certain Valleys afforded Pasture, where the Cattle were refresh'd, and Rest allow'd the weary Soldiers. From thence *Hannibal* descended into the Plains, having been fifteen Days in passing the *Alps*, it being now the fifth Month after his setting out from *New Carthage*, which was a City built by *Asdrubal* in *Spain*. At his Arrival in the Country of the *Insubres*, he found his Army reduc'd to about 18000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, according to *Polybius*, having lost most of 'em upon the *Alps*.

Scipio the Consul hearing of *Hannibal's* March, hasten'd to meet him before his Men were well refresh'd. Both Armies met at *Ticinum* (now *Pavia*) in which Battel the Consul being wounded, was sav'd by the great Valour of his young Son, afterwards call'd *Africanus*, and in a few Hours was defeated, especially by the Means of the *Numidian* Cavalry, who unexpectedly fell upon his Rear. Soon after this Defeat, *Sempronius*, the other Consul, out of *Sicily*, join'd *Scipio* at the River *Trebia*. *Sempronius* having been successful in some Skirmishes, resolv'd to give the Enemy Battel, before too many of the *Gauls* were join'd him, tho' *Scipio* was much against it, who was now laid up of his Wounds. *Hannibal* knowing the *Gauls* to be all at his Devotion, and finding his own Men fresh and vigorous, endeavour'd at nothing more

more than a Battel. Upon the nigh Approach of these Armies, *Hannibal* convey'd 1000 choice Horse into a private Place, and another Party he sent to brave the *Romans* before they cou'd provide against the Extremity of the Weather by Meat or Drink; so that engaging with Cold and Hunger, passing the River up to the Arm-pits, and being unexpectedly charg'd both in Front and Rear, they were entirely defeated, tho' not without great Slaughter of the Enemy, through whose Ranks 10000 desperately broke, and escap'd to *Placentia*, 26000 being either slain, taken, or drown'd in the River. The *Carthaginians* having done what they were able in pursuing, retir'd to the Camp so stupify'd with Cold, that they were scarcely sensible of their Victory; for Rain mixt with Snow, and intolerable Cold, kill'd many of their Men, and almost all their Beasts and Elephants. Thus *Hannibal* was now as successful in his Battels, as before he had been daring in his Marches, the *Romans* never having met with a more formidable Enemy, or a more expert General.

II. The Loss of these two Battels caus'd the *Romans* to be more diligent in their Preparations for the next Campaign; for the Managing of which, C. *Flaminius* and *Servilius Geminus* were chosen Consuls: The former of these had a good Faculty of Speaking, but no great Skill in War. *Hannibal* having all this while kept in the Country of the *Gauls*, where he had recruited and strengthened his Army, now resolv'd to change the Seat of the War, and march into *Hetruria*; and after some Consultation about the Way thither, he fixt upon that of the Fens, as short and unexpected to the Enemy, tho' far more difficult to pass. Here they found a miserable Passage, being forc'd to march three or four Days and Nights thro' nothing but Water, without any Sleep or Rest, which sorely distress'd his Men; many of the Beasts were left dead in the Mud, and the
Hoofs

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Hoofs came off the Horses Feet. *Hannibal* himself riding upon an Elephant, which was the only one left alive, escap'd with his Life, but got intolerable Pains in the Eyes, and lost one of them entirely. Being at last arrived upon dry Ground, and understanding *Flaminius's* fiery Temper, the better to entrap him, he pass'd by his Camp, and march'd farther into the Country, wasting it with Fire and Sword. This enrag'd *Flaminius*, who thought himself slighted and despis'd by the Enemy; and when he was advis'd by some to use great Caution, and not rashly pursue, especially by Reason of the Enemies Cavalry, but above all things to stay for the Conjunction of his Colleague's Forces, he cou'd by no Means bear their Words; but rising with all his Troops, he began his March, as if nothing had been more certain than the Victory, his Army being follow'd with a great Number of Rabble laden with Chains, Bonds, and the like, for the Prisoners and Booty.

Hannibal was now at a Lake call'd *Thrasymene*, nigh which were certain Mountains, and between them and the Lake was a narrow Passage leading to a Valley just by, encompass'd with a Ridge of Hills. These Hills *Hannibal* made choice of, placing and disposing his Men round about, so that when *Flaminius* follow'd him into the Valley, he was immediately hemm'd in, and attack'd on all Sides, to the cutting off of his whole Army, and the Loss of his own Life; and this was done almost before they cou'd see who engag'd 'em, by reason of a Mist which was risen from the Lake. About 15000 of the *Romans* fell in the Valley, and 6000 escap'd to a Village, where they were forc'd to yield themselves Prisoners. *Hannibal* gathering all his Prisoners together, to the Number of 15000, kept the *Romans*, but dismiss'd the *Latines* without Ransom; and he sought also for the Consul's Body to bury it, but cou'd not find it. *Servilius*, the other Consul, who lay at *Ariminum*, having Intelligence of

of *Hannibal's* March into *Hetruria*, with all speed detach'd a Party of 4000 Men, commanded by *Centinius*, to join *Flaminius*, if possible, before the Battle. *Hannibal* hearing of this Supply, immediately after the Victory, detach'd out a sufficient Party under *Maherbal*, who cut off one half of the *Romans*, and forc'd the rest to a Hill, where they yielded themselves Prisoners.

The *Romans* were now in a great Consternation at these vast Losses, and upon mature Deliberation, they found it necessary to have a General with absolute authority; whereupon they resolv'd upon a Dictator, which was *Fabius Maximus*, a Person of extraordinary Wisdom and Experience, in whom was a happy mixture of Caution and Boldness. He made choice of *Minutius Rufus* for his Master of the Horse, who was of a Temper more hot and violent than himself. Having made what Preparations he was able, he set forward to meet *Hannibal* with little Intention to fight him, but rather to wait his Motions, to straiten his Quarters, and cut off his Provisions, which he knew wou'd be the most effectual way to ruin him, in a Country so far from his own. He always encamp'd on the highest Grounds, free from the Insults of the Enemies Cavalry, still keeping pace with 'em; when they march'd, he follow'd 'em; when they encamp'd, he did the same, but at such a distance as not to be forc'd to engage; by which means he gave them no Rest, but kept 'em in a continual Alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which got him the Name of *Cunctator*, made most Men suspect his Courage, except *Hannibal* himself, who was extremely troubled and enraged at it, using all possible Artifices to make *Fabius* and his Actions become despicable; sometimes by braving him in his Camp, and other times by wasting the Country round him. Soon after, *Hannibal* designing for *Casinum*, was by a Mistake conducted to *Casilinum* nigh *Campania*, where

Dic. lx.
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where entering a Valley environ'd with Mountains, *Fabius* detach'd 4000 choice Men, who possess'd themselves of the Entrance, and with another Party cut off 800 of his Rear, putting his whole Army into some Disorder. *Hannibal* finding himself block'd up, and in a dangerous Condition, one Night he order'd small Faggots and lighted Torches to be ty'd to the Horns of 2000 Oxen, which by their tossing their Horns, and scattering the Fires, so frightened the Party that guarded the Entrance, that they quitted their Posts; and by this Stratagem *Hannibal* drew off his Army, and escap'd, tho' with considerable Damage to his Rear.

This Action, tho' excellently well manag'd by *Fabius*, procur'd many Complaints against him; and *Hannibal*, to improve their Hatred, ravag'd the Country about, but carefully spar'd *Fabius's* Lands, to render him suspected of a secret Correspondence with him. These Suspicions, and *Fabius's* want of Courage, as his Men believ'd, prov'd so prejudicial to him, that in his Absence soon after, *Minutius*, his Master of the Horse, having skirmish'd with some Success, procur'd so much Favour from the Multitude, that his Power was made equal with the Dictator's; which was a thing beyond all Example. *Minutius* was so exalted with his late Successes and this new Honour, that he resolv'd, contrary to all the Perswasions of *Fabius*, to engage *Hannibal* with his Part of his Army, which he did; where he was cunningly drawn in by *Hannibal* to a disadvantageous Place, and was in great danger of being intirely defeated, when *Fabius*, who had been a careful Observer of this Action from an Eminence in his Camp, came in, and falling upon the Enemy with extraordinary Skill and Courage, soon forc'd 'em to retreat, and sav'd *Minutius*. *Hannibal*, after this Battel, told his Friends, *That he thought the Cloud which had so long hover'd upon the Mountains wou'd some time break upon 'em with a Storm.* As for *Minutius*, he was so far convinc'd

convinc'd of his former Rashness, that he confess'd his Error to *Fabius*, whom he now call'd his Father, and renouncing his new Power again, subjected his Office freely to the *Dictatorship*.

Soon after *Fabius's* Time was expir'd, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Consuls*, which was *Vetrurius Philo*, and *Pomponius Matho* was his *Master of the Horse*. The new *Consuls* were *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*, the former a prudent experienc'd Person, the latter a hot, rash, and inconsiderate Man. These had gather'd together an Army of 80000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, which gave great Hopes to the People, but rais'd as great Fears in some of the wiser sort, especially *Fabius*, who with all the powerful Arguments imaginable advis'd *Æmilius*, to beware of the Policy of *Hannibal*, and the Rashness of *Varro*. Both Armies met at a Village in *Apulia*, call'd *Cannæ*, where *Varro* resolv'd to engage contrary to *Æmilius's* Advice, the Enemy being about 40000 Foot, and 20000 Horse. This Battel was fought with dreadful Fury on both Sides, and *Hannibal* had plac'd his Men with all possible Skill and Art, so that the *Romans* were not only forc'd to fight with Wind, Dust, and Sun, but pressing forwards, were in a little time almost surrounded. In short, the Abilities of the *Punick* General at this time were more apparent than ever, who more over-match'd them in Skill than they exceeded him in Numbers, making a most miserable Slaughter of the *Romans*, till quite wearied out, he commanded his Soldiers to give over. *Æmilius* was found desperately wounded by *Lentulus* a Colonel, who offer'd him his Horse to fly; but the Consul with weeping Eyes desir'd him to make use of it himself, and go tell *Fabius* that he had follow'd his Directions to the last, but Fate had conquer'd him: and then falling among the dead Bodies, he expir'd. In this Battel the *Romans* lost 50000 Men. *Polybius* says 70000, 2 *Quæstors*, 21 *Tribunes*, 80 of *Senatorians*

Dic. lxi.
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538.

Senatorial Order, and so many *Equites*, or Knights, that 'tis said that three Bushels of their Rings were sent to *Carthage*; the Enemy having lost but 5700 Men.

Never was any thing so terrible and dreadful to *Rome*, as the News of this fatal Defeat; never was the City so sadly fill'd with Terror and Tumult; and never was a more universal Mourning and Lamentation throughout all the Streets, than at this time. The Citizens were all in an Uproar and Consternation, and the *Senators* themselves in great Trouble and Confusion, being extremely disturb'd in their Debates by the dismal Out-cries of miserable Women tearing their Hair, and beating their Breasts after a sad and deplorable manner. A Dictator upon this was created, which was *M. Junius*, his Master of the Horse being *T. Sempronius*, and Order was immediately given to keep all the Women from coming abroad into the Streets, the Senators themselves going from House to House to comfort and appease 'em what they cou'd. Great Care was likewise taken to set strict Guards at the Gates, to keep all Persons from abandoning the City; and to make all People see, *That there cou'd be no possible means of preserving themselves, but by bravely defending the Walls.* In a short time *Varro* arriv'd at *Rome* with the weak and tatter'd Relicks of his Army; and tho' he had been the principal Cause of this Defeat, yet the *Romans*, out of an extraordinary greatness of Mind, went out to meet him in Multitudes, and the Senate return'd him Thanks, *for that he had not despair'd of the Commonwealth.* Notwithstanding the vast Losses sustain'd by *Hannibal*, and the Revolt of a great part of *Italy* immediately after this last Defeat; the *Romans* won'd never so much as mention Peace; *Whereas, as Livy says, no Nation under Heaven but wou'd have fainted, and have suffer'd themselves to have been overwhelm'd and crush'd with the weight of so mighty a Disaster.*

III. Thus

III. Thus far was *Hannibal* extraordinary successful; and had he made the best Use of this his last Victory, by marching directly to *Rome*, he might in all Probability have put an End to the War and *Roman* State at once; but this great Soldier, as *Maherbal*, Captain of his Horse told him, *knew perfectly how to gain a Victory, but not how to use and improve it.* For his careless Manner of Proceeding that Summer, gave the *Romans* an Opportunity of recovering themselves when they were almost reduc'd to a despairing Condition: And now they were inspir'd with new Courage, and new Resolutions of prosecuting the War without fainting; making all possible Preparations for another Campaign, arming of several Thousands of Slaves, and filling up the Senate, which wanted 177 Persons: This last was done by *Fabius Buteo* a *Dictator*, created for that purpose, without any *Master of the Horse*, and that before the last *Dictator* was out of Office, who was then abroad. But that which prov'd most fatal to *Hannibal*, was his Wintering in *Capua*, a most wealthy and luxurious City, which, among many other Places, had surrender'd it self to him since his last Victory. Here he utterly spoil'd an excellent and hardy Army, which now was so enfeebled and enervated by their immoderate Use of the Pleasures and Effeminateness of that Place, that ever after his Men became impatient of Labour, and the ancient Military Discipline; so that *Capua* became a *Cannæ* to *Hannibal's* Soldiers. And now *Hannibal's* Fortune began to change; for in the next Campaign he was worsted in a Sally out of *Nola* by *Marcellus* the *Prætor*, and repuls'd at *Casilinum*, after he had brought the Place to great Extremities; and not long after *Marcellus* gave him a considerable Repulse nigh *Nola*, which gave the *Romans* mighty Hopes of farther Successes.

Dic. lxi.
U. C.
539.

In *Spain* the *Scipio's* manag'd the War with great Success, overthrowing *Hanno*, and gaining much Ground,

Ground, and likewise defeating *Asdrubal*, who but just before had been order'd by the Senate of *Carthage* to go for *Italy* and join *Hannibal*; which Design by this means was broke. In *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, tho' several Attempts were made by the *Carthaginians*, and some Revolts hapned, yet Affairs succeeded prosperously, especially in *Sardinia*, where a Battel was fought, and 12000 *Carthaginians* kill'd, and many taken Prisoners, among whom were *Asdrubal*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, all Persons of the highest Quality. *Rome* now had the Misfortune of having Enemies on all Sides of her, and in all Parts of her Dominions and Territories; so that the Vigour and Diligence of her Inhabitants was certainly very admirable in sending Recruits and Supplies into *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, those distant Countries, with the same Care as against *Hannibal* himself. But what is a greater Instance of the *Roman* Courage and Magnanimity, is their proclaiming War with *Philip* King of *Macedon* in *Greece*, not long after their dreadful Defeat in *Cannæ*, for his making a League with *Hannibal*, and their venturing to invade his Dominion, which they did with good Success. About this time *Cladius Senthio* was created

Dic. lxiiv. Dictator for holding the *Comitia* in the Consul's Absence for a new Election, and his Master of the Horse
U. C. 541. was *Fulvius Flaccus*.

The Affairs of *Sicily* were in a little time alter'd by the Death of *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, and the Murder of his Grandson *Hieronymus* not long after, which caus'd great Factions in that City. The prevailing Faction proving Enemies to *Rome*, *Marcellus* was sent thither, who besieg'd the great City of *Syracuse* by Sea and Land; but cou'd not storm it with all his Power, being perpetually hinder'd by the great Skill and Inventions of that excellent Mathematician *Archimedes*, who contriv'd such Engines as wou'd cast Stones of prodigious Bulk upon the *Romans*, and vast Beams upon their Ships, and dismount all their Batter-
 tering

Battering Engines. He also set the *Roman* Ships upon one end, or overturn'd them, or hois'd 'em up into the Air, and after all the Men were fallen out, let 'em fall upon the Walls; by which means he became so formidable to the *Romans*, that *Marcellus* was forc'd to remove to a farther distance, jeering his own Engineer, and calling *Archimedes*, *Briareus*. After some considerable Actions in *Sicily*, and after three Years Siege, *Marcellus* found means to surprize the City on a great Festival of theirs, by reason of an ill-guarded Tower, and so became Master of it. *Marcellus* cou'd not forbear his Tears at the Destruction of such a glorious and magnificent City, which he endeavour'd, but cou'd not prevent; but above all, the Death of *Archimedes* was the greatest Trouble to him; for he had given strict Command to his Men to preserve him. But this great Artist was at that time so extremely busy about his Mathematical Speculations, that he took no Notice of the Noise and Uproar in the City, and so was kill'd by a common Soldier, before he suspected any Danger. His Body was honourably bury'd by *Marcellus*'s Order, and vast Plunder was obtain'd by the Soldiers, besides many rich Works and great Rarities sent to *Rome*, the City being full of People, and 22 Miles in Compass.

The Wars in *Italy* were manag'd the same time with various Success, *Hannibal* had *Tarentum* betray'd to him, the Castle still holding out; and the *Romans* invested *Capua*, strait'ning it so much, that they were forc'd to send to *Hannibal* for Relief. He made no great haste to relieve 'em, being very desirous to take the Castle first; but then considering how great a Disgrace the Loss of such a Place as *Capua* would be, he broke up the Siege of *Tarentum*, and directed his March thither. *Hannibal* attack'd the *Romans* in their Trenches; and tho' he was assisted both by the Inhabitants and his own Garrison, he was repell'd with considerable Loss. Finding the Relief of the

P Place

U. C.
542.

Place extream hazardous, he resolved to fall upon *Rome* itself, expecting that the very Name of such an Enterprize would oblige them to raise the Siege; for which reason he marched directly that way. His Designs being heard of at *Rome*, the Citizens were variously inclined as to their way of Security, some thinking all the Forces in *Italy* were to be sent for; but *Fabius* would by no means hear of rising from before *Capua*: Therefore a middle way was taken, which was to send for *Fulvius* the Proconsul from the Siege, with 15000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, for the Defence of *Rome*; which was speedily effected, *Hannibal* being now encamped about eight Miles from the City.

Hannibal in a short time decamped, and advanced to the River *Arno*, three Miles from *Rome*, from whence, with a Party of 2000 Horse, he went to take a View of the City. *Flaccus*, much offended that he should take such Liberty without Opposition, sent out a considerable Body of Horse, which falling upon him, forced him to retreat. The next Day, and the Day following, *Hannibal* on one side, and *Flaccus* with the Consuls on the other, drew out all their Forces for a general Battel; but on both those Days there fell such great Storms of Hail and Rain, that the Armies could not join; but after they had retired to their Camps, the Weather proved fair and calm. This struck the *Carthaginians* with a religious Awe, and made *Hannibal* to say, *That one while his Mind, another time his Fortune, would not suffer him to become Master of that mighty City.* Whereupon he decamped, and marched to the River *Turia*, from thence to the Lake of *Feronia*, where he plundered a Temple of that Goddess, proceeding in this outrageous manner through the Countries of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*; which Cruelty lost him much Credit, and did him as much Injury. *Flaccus* returned to the Siege of *Capua*, which soon after was surrender'd, the Heads of the Revolt being

being put to Death, and the common Sort sold. This City being situated in so good a Soil, was reserved for the use of all sorts of Plowmen, Labourers and Artificers, without any shew of Government of its own, as it had formerly. This happened in the 7th Year of this War, and 543d of the City.

In *Spain* the War had been carry'd on all this time with great Vigour, the *Romans* being generally Conquerors, killing in one Battel 37000 Men; but in this last Year, *Claudius Nero* the Governor of *Spain* was much impos'd upon by the Treachery of *Asdrubal*, and another Governor was order'd to succeed him, both the *Scipio's* having been slain not long before in *Spain*. A *Comitia* was held for the creating a *Proconsul* for *Spain*, but none appear'd to stand for that Office, well perceiving the Hazards and Difficulties of such a War, which caus'd a great Concern and Sadness among the People. Whereupon young *Scipio*, a noble Youth, under 24 Years of Age, bravely stood up and profess'd himself *Candidate*, having the Year before been made *Ædile*, tho' under Age, by the great Favour and Confidence of the People. This *Scipio* was Son of the Consul slain in *Spain*, a Person of rare and wonderful Abilities for his Age, of extraordinary Courage and Valour, and of as eminent Prudence and Virtue; which excellent Accomplishments made him joyfully accepted of by the Votes of all; but after he was chosen, they began to have some Concern upon the Account of his Youth; which he apprehending, call'd them together, and with such a noble Spirit and great Resolution promis'd them Success, that they departed abundantly satisfy'd with their Choice.

The following Year after *Scipio's* Voyage to *Spain*, *Valerius Lavinius*, who had done good Service against *Philip* of *Macedon*, was made *Consul* a second time, and sent into *Sicily*; where taking the City *Agrigentum*, he soon reduc'd the whole Island, which was the

first time the *Romans* became Masters of all *Sicily*; and this fell out in the 8th Year of this War, and 544th of the City. In the Time of *Lævinus's* Con-
 Dic. lxxv. sulship, a Dictator was created for holding the Comi-
 U. C. tia for a new Election, both he and his Colleague
 544. *Marcellus* being abroad: This was *Fulvius Flaccus*, and his Master of the Horse was *Licinius Crassus*. In this Election *Fabius Maximus* was chosen Consul a fifth time, in which Year *Tarentum* was betray'd into his Hands, the Success of this Campaign proving very doubtful and various; and in this same Year was a *Lustration*, where were found but 137108 Free Citizens; by which Account it appears, what great Losses the *Romans* had sustain'd by these dreadful Wars. *Marcellus* for this Year sometimes won and sometimes lost with *Hannibal*; and the following was made Consul a fifth time, when, going against *Hannibal*, he was slain in an Ambuscade; a valiant Soldier, who was call'd the Sword, as *Fabius* was the Buckler of Rome. His Colleague *Crispinus* also receiv'd a Wound, which in a little time kill'd him, having first nominated a Dictator for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election, which was
 Dic. lxxvi. *Manlius Torquatus*, his Master of the Horse being C.
 U. C. *Servilius*.
 546.

The following Year *Asdrubal* was order'd to leave *Spain*, and go for *Italy* to the Assistance of his Brother *Hannibal*. Whereupon *Livius* the Consul was order'd to meet and oppose him, whilst his Colleague *Nero* observ'd the Motions of *Hannibal*: But *Nero* having met with some Success against *Hannibal*, made a choice Detachment of 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and with great Secresy, and as great Expedition, march'd towards his Colleague. Having join'd him, they surrounded *Asdrubal*, who by the Treachery of his Guides was led into a dangerous Place, and cut him and his whole Army in pieces. *Nero* immediately return'd to his Camp, and before *Hannibal* knew of his departure, cast his Brother's Head in his Camp;
 by

by which, to his great Grief, he knew of his Defeat. At the finishing of this *Consulship*, a *Dictator* was created for the holding of the *Comitia* for a new Election, the Consuls being both in the Field, which was *Livius Salinator*, his *Master of the Horse* being *Cæcilius Metellus*. The Year after this, *Scipio*, after the obtaining many great Victories, and the performing many noble Exploits in *Spain*, wholly reduc'd that Country to the Obedience of *Rome*; having taken or driven out all the *Carthaginian* Commanders, and gain'd as much Reputation by his mild, sweet, and generous Temper, as he did by his couragious and valiant Acts. This happen'd five Years after his undertaking this Charge, and twelve after the beginning of this War.

Dis.
lxvii.
U. C.
547.

IV. The *Romans* now found themselves in a much better Condition than they were at the beginning of these Wars, especially by the happy Reduction of two such considerable Provinces as *Spain* and *Sicily*, which had been great Diversions to 'em; but still *Hannibal*, in the Bowels of *Italy*, was a severe Curb, and a grievous Burden to 'em; upon which, *Scipio*, at his Return, being made *Consul* at 29 Years of Age, greatly desir'd to be sent into *Africk*, as the most effectual means to finish the War; declaring to the Senate, *That he doubted not but to manage Affairs so, as that the Carthaginians should be forc'd to recall Hannibal out of Italy, for the Defence of his own Country.* *Fabius* most earnestly, and with some Heat oppos'd this, and thereupon a considerable Difference arose; but at length *Sicily* was granted him for his Province, and Leave given him to pass over into *Africk*, if he saw it convenient for the Commonwealth. All the first Year he spent in *Sicily*, in providing Necessaries for his Expedition; at the end of which, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of Consuls, namely, *Cæcilius Metellus*, his *Master of the Horse* being *Veturius Philo*: The

U. C.
548.

Dis.
lxviii.
U. C.
549.

next *Lustrum* being soon after, 215000 Free Citizens were cels'd, which was 77892 more than at the last; a happy Increase for five Years time. This same Year, which was the 14th of this War, *Scipio* arriv'd at *Africk* with a brave Fleet, where *Masanissa* King of *Numidia*, who had join'd with him in *Spain*, came in to his Assistance.

Scipio was not long in *Africk* without Employment, for in a short time *Hanno* oppos'd him, and was slain himself, with 3000 of his Men; which so encourag'd *Scipio*, that he immediately invested *Utica*: But *Syphax*, King of *Numidia*, who had dispossest *Masanissa* of his Kingdom, marching with the *Carthaginians* to relieve the Place, *Scipio* broke up the Siege, and departed to his Winter-Quarters. But in the Winter he again invested *Utica*; and understanding that the Enemy was encamp'd not far off, he sent his ablest Soldiers in the Habits of Slaves, with his Commissioners, to view their Camp. This done, he suddenly set Fire to their Coverings of Mats, Reeds, dry Boughs, and the like; which they not suspecting, but thinking it came by Accident, were cut in pieces in the midst of the Hurry and Confusion to the Number of 40000 Men, 6000 being taken Prisoners. Not long after he gave them another great Overthrow, which so terrify'd the *Carthaginians*, that they were oblig'd to recal their great Champion *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, who himself likewise had been in a declining Condition for a considerable time. An Embassage was immediately dispatch'd to *Rome*, with a Design to obtain a Cessation of Arms till *Hannibal* could safely retire from *Italy*: But their Aim being sufficiently understood, their Message was slighted, and came to no effect.

During these Endeavours, *Syphax* finding his Kingdom would probably return to *Masanissa*, the true Inheritor, had gather'd together a numerous Army of unexperienc'd Strangers, and with them march'd against *Scipio*, but was soon defeated, and himself

himself taken Prisoner. *Masanissa*, the better to regain his Kingdom, marched with all speed to *Cirta*, the chief City, and by shewing them the King in Bonds, procur'd the Gates to be opened, every one striving to gain the Favour of him, who, as they perceiv'd, would be their King. Among the rest, Queen *Sophonisba*, *Syphax's* Wife, a Woman of incomparable Beauty, who very earnestly and humbly besought him, *That she might not be delivered up into the Hands of the Romans*, her powerful Charms so recommended her Suit, that young *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and the more effectually to perform his Promise, marry'd her himself that Day. This Action was much disapprov'd of by *Scipio* at his Arrival soon after, letting him to understand, *That the Romans had a Title to her Head, as being their Captive, one of their greatest Enemies, and the principal Cause of all Syphax's Treachery.* Upon this therefore, *Masanissa*, in desperate Passion, sent her a Bowl of Poyson; at the receiving of which she only said, *That if her Husband had no better Token to send to his new Wife, she must accept of that;* adding, *That her Death had been more honourable, if her Marriage had been farther from it;* and so boldly drank it off. *Scipio*, the better to comfort the melancholy Prince, had him immediately proclaimed King of *Numidia*, with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity that could be expected, having now settled him in his Throne without any farther Opposition.

V. *Hannibal* had now made his greatest and utmost Efforts in *Italy*, and had perform'd more than any other Commander, when he was recalled by his Superiors; and with great Concern and Reluctancy was forced to quit that Country, after he had spent fifteen Years in it with various Fortune: He complained much of his Senate, and of Himself; of his Senate, because they had so badly supply'd him with Money and other Necessaries, when he

had been so long in an Enemies Country; of Himself, for giving the *Romans* time to recover themselves, after he had so often overthrown 'em. It is said likewise, that before he embark'd, he built an Arch nigh the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where, in *Punick* and *Greek* Letters, he wrote the Sum of his great Exploits. Then putting to Sea in a melancholly Temper, having lost both his Brothers, *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, and a great many of his best Men, he landed in few Days at *Leptis*; from whence he march'd to *Adrumetum*, and next to *Zama*, five days Journey from *Carthage*. A general Satisfaction was in *Rome* for his Departure; for never was a General more dreaded by 'em: And much about that time a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for a new Election of *Consuls*, *Sulpicius Galba* being the Person, and *Servilius Geminus* his *Master of the Horse*.

Dic. lxiix.
U. C.
 554.

Hannibal now lying encamp'd near *Zama*, and *Scipio* not far from him, the former beginning to consider the declining State of his Country, desir'd a Meeting with *Scipio* to treat of a Peace, which was granted. In a large Plain between the two Armies, the two greatest Generals in the World came to an Interview; but receiving mutually no Satisfaction, especially for that *Scipio* had upbraided the *Carthaginians* with a late Breach of Truce, and Violation of Ambassadors, they return'd to decide the Controversy by the Sword. Never was a more memorable Battel fought, whether we regard the Generals, the Armies, the two States that contended, or the Importance of the Victory. Both the Generals shew'd admirable Skill in placing their Men, and chusing their Ground, as well as extraordinary Courage in charging and falling on; letting their Soldiers to understand, That this Battel must shew whether *Rome* or *Carthage* shou'd give Laws to the World. *Hannibal*, who' he behav'd himself most gallantly, and with all the true Management of such an expert Commander,

der, was at last overcome by *Scipio*, who slew 20000, and took as many Prisoners. Whereupon *Hannibal* persuaded his Country-men to beg Peace, and Ambassadors were immediately dispatch'd to *Rome* for that purpose: A little before whose Arrival, a *Dictator* was created for holding the *Comitia* for Election of *Consuls*; and this was *C. Servilius*, his *Master of the Horse* being *Ailius Petus*. Dic. lxx. U. C. 552.

The Power of concluding Peace was by the People decreed to *Scipio* and ten others, and was at last agreed to upon these Articles: First, *That the Carthaginians should enjoy all their Territories in Africk; but that the Romans should hold Spain, with all the Islands in the Mediterranean: Secondly, That all Rebels and Deserters should be deliver'd up to the Romans: Thirdly, That the Carthaginians should deliver up all the beak'd Ships, except ten Triremes, with all their tam'd Elephants, and tame no more: Fourthly, That it should be unlawful for 'em to make War in Africk, or elsewhere, without Leave from Rome: Fifthly, That they should restore all to Masanissa, and enter into Alliance with him: Sixthly, That they should give Money and Corn to the Roman Troops, till the return of the Ambassadors: And, Seventhly, That they should pay 10000 Talents of Silver in 50 Years time, and give 100 Hostages for the Performance of all.* Thus ended the Second *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, in the 17th Year of it, to the great Satisfaction of *Rome*, and the greater Renown of *Scipio*, who, besides a most splendid Triumph, obtain'd the honourable Surname of *Africanus*. It was seven Years shorter, tho' far more bloody and dangerous than the first *Punick* War, and ended in the 553d Year of the City, *A. M.* 3804, in the 4th Year of the 144th *Olympiad*, 308 Years since the Beginning of the *Consular State*, 189 since the Burning of the City by the *Gauls*, 129 since the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, and 199 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. XI.

From the End of the Second Punick War, to the End of the Third, and the Destruction of Carthage; when Rome got free from all her Royal States.

Containing the Space of 55 Years.

U. C.
553.

I. **T**Hese Wars, though they had been very dangerous, almost to the Ruin of the Roman State, ended much to the Advantage of it, both as to its Honour and Dominion, as well as its Experience and Knowledge. The Romans began more and more to know the Use of Riches, and Arts and Learning daily increas'd as they became more acquainted with the Grecians. For much about this time flourished *Ennius*, *Licinius Tegula*, and *Cacilius*, all Dramatick Poets, the Romans being much delighted with such Spectacles, as well as those more cruel ones of Gladiators, Fighting with Wild-Beasts, &c. The finishing of these late Wars much eas'd the Romans, but still they were employed abroad; for immediately after began, or rather went on, the *Macedonian* Wars against King *Philip*, the first Occasion being given soon after the great Battel of *Cannæ*, upon his Entrance into an Alliance with *Hannibal*, as was said before. But now the Romans having a good Opportunity, and not without Provocation, as well by his Breach of Faith with the *Ætolians* and other Roman Allies in those Parts, as by his Supplies long before sent to *Hannibal*, and at the earnest Request of the *Athenians*, as well as the Complaints of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, proclaimed War against him anew.

This *Philip* King of *Macedon* was one of *Alexander's* Successors, being the tenth King after him, and a powerful Prince in Greece. Against him *Sulpicius Galba*

Galba the Consul was sent, who by himself and his Lieutenant put him to the worst divers times, and had almost taken him Prisoner. By the Assistance of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, the Consul rais'd the Siege of *Athens*; whereupon the *Ætolians*, before backwards enough, by reason of their Magistrates, and the *Athenians* now newly encourag'd, invaded *Philip's* Dominions; but being too slothful and careless, were easily repuls'd by him. This same Year obtain'd *Furius* the *Prætor* a great Victory over the *Gauls*, who had lately revolted and invested *Cremona*, killing 30000 Men, and with them *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian* Captain. For this Action, after much Dispute in the Senate, he triumph'd, tho' against the Custom, and without Precedent; for none ever obtained this Honour, who had gotten a Victory with another's Army, as he had done with *Aurelius Cotta's* the Consul, in his Absence, who therefore took the Matter very heinously. The Year following, *Bebius* the *Prætor* entring unadvisedly into the Territories of the *Insubrian Gauls*, was surrounded, and lost above 6600 of his Men: In this Year there was but small Action in *Macedonia*.

In the third Year of the *Macedonian War*, *Quintus Flaminius* the Consul was sent thither, who using great Expedition and Diligence, beat *Philip* out of the Streights, where he had been very advantageously posted; and by Sea his Brother *Lucius*, with *Attalus*, regain'd several Confederate Towns, and invested *Corinth* it self, but with no Success. The latter end of this Year, by reason of the great Business of the Commonwealth, the *Prætors* in *Rome* were increas'd from Four to Six; and now the Time coming for the Election of Consuls, and it being usual for them to take the Provinces from their Predecessors, the *Tribunes* rightly objected, That this Custom hinder'd the Progress of the Wars, and so procur'd *Quintius's* Government and Place to be continu'd to him, who being just upon taking the Castle of *Opus*, Mes-

Prætors
increas'd.
U. C.
556.

sengers

sengers came from *Philip* about a Treaty. Several times they met, as they formerly had done, at the Straights, the Ambassadors of *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* being present; but all came to no Effect. *Philip* soon after delivering up *Argos* into the Hands of *Nabis*, Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who us'd the Inhabitants with great Cruelty and intolerable Exactions. But *Quintius*, managing his Affairs with good Success, at last follow'd *Philip* into *Thessaly*, and gave him a great Overthrow at *Cynocephalæ*, killing 8000, and taking 5000 Prisoners; so that he was forc'd to beg Peace, which was granted upon Terms moderate enough: One of the Articles was, *That he should pay 1000 Talents, half at present, and the other half in the space of ten Years.*

About this same time, two great Victories were obtain'd over the *Gauls*; and the Slaves in *Hebruria* breaking into a dangerous Rebellion, were quell'd and chastis'd by *Attilius* the *Prætor*. And now the *Romans*, out of a Principle of Generosity, resolv'd to restore Liberty to the Cities of *Greece* which they had taken in this War, and for that reason, ten Men of the chiefest Quality were sent over thither, *Flaminius* being the principal. These Commissioners went to the great Solemnity of the *Isthmian Games*, where was a General Meeting of all *Greece* to behold those Shows; and there, in the Name of the Senate and People of *Rome*, they publicly proclaim'd Liberty to all the Cities and People of *Greece*. This was the most surprizing and most joyful thing in the World to these People, who scarce so much as imagin'd, much less expected the Favour. Many Speeches were made in Praise of the *Roman* Greatness and Generosity, particularly, *That at last, there was a People in the World born for the Safety of all others, that cross'd Seas and made Wars at their own Cost and Peril, to relieve the Oppress'd, to establish Laws, and caus'd them to be observ'd, and to maintain the Publick Security throughout the whole Earth.* And this was the end of the first
Macedo-

Macedonian War, which happen'd five Years after it was last proclaim'd, and twenty after it first began.

II. The Year following after the War, some Disturbances were rais'd in the City concerning the *Oppian Law*; a Law preferr'd by *Oppius*, Tribune of the People, soon after the Defeat at *Canna*, forbidding Women to wear Gold or Purple, and some other Ornaments. This Law the present Tribunes endeavouring to abrogate, Affairs being chang'd, and the Occasion remov'd, were violently oppos'd by *Portius Cato* the Consul, a famous Moralist, who publickly and severely inveigh'd against the Females; but by reason of the Tribune's answering him out of his own Book, but chiefly by means of the Womens tumultuous filling the Streets and the Assemblies with their importunate Cries, it was at last annull'd. *Cato* then betook himself to *Spain*, his own Province, where using Severity to himself as well as his Soldiers, he restor'd the *Roman Discipline* in those Parts, and reduc'd many of the *Spanish Nations*, who had lately revolted. The *Romans* had still Wars with the *Gauls*, who were join'd with their Neighbours the *Ligurians*; but they were not much burdensome to the State, nor such as hinder'd the Progress of Learning in the City. For about this time *Plautus* had many Plays acted at *Rome* with great Applause; and he it was that brought *Comedy* to its Perfection in this City, being a Person of a great Genius, and a compleat Master of the *Latine Tongue*, which tho' it was not arriv'd to its utmost Purity, had even then a Masculine Strength and Energy, which was very excellent. The *Romans* were not without some Wars in *Greece*; for *Nabis*, lately mention'd, still oppos'd 'em, but was forc'd to submit in no long time: And about this time *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, by his Inroachment upon the *Roman Allies*. gave an Occasion to the *Romans* to fall out with him; and this he did partly thro' his own Ambition and Hatred to
Rome,

U.C.
559.

Rome, and partly by the Perswasions of *Hannibal*, who had been lately forc'd thither by the Ingratitude of his own Country-men. These Matters occasion'd Embassies on both sides, but to no great effect, till at last *Antiochus* proceeded so far into *Greece* it self, the *Ætolians* treacherously joining with them, that the *Romans*, after suitable Preparations, proclaim'd War against him, which was five Years after the finishing the *Macedonian* War.

- U. C. 536. *Antiochus*, as well as *Philip*, was one of *Alexander's* Successors, tho' of another Kingdom, and surnam'd *Magnus*, being a very potent Prince, and Master of great Dominions; therefore the greater Preparations were made against him, and *Acilius* the Consul was sent into *Greece* to manage the War. *Acilius* easily recovered those Places which *Antiochus* had possess'd himself of in *Thessaly*; then following that King to the Streights of *Thermopylae*, whither he had retir'd, he forc'd him out of his advantageous Post, and gave him such an Overthrow, that he immediately abandon'd all *Greece*, the *Ætolians* being left to the mercy of the Conquerors. While *Acilius* perform'd these Acts in *Greece*, his Colleague *Nasica* got a notable Victory over the *Boian Gauls* in *Italy*, which entirely broke all their Power. *Lucius Scipio* and *Laelius Nepos* being Consuls for the following Year, came according to Custom to divide the Provinces by Lot. Both were extreamly desirous to have *Greece*, and *Laelius* being in great Favour, offer'd to leave it to the Determination of the Senate, which *Scipio* was perswaded to assent to by his Brother *Africanus*. The Matter was wholly new, and the Senate expected many Speeches and Arguments on both sides, when *Africanus* standing up, told the Fathers, *That if they wou'd decree Greece for his Brother's Province, he himself wou'd be his Legatus or Lieutenant*; at which there needed no other Argument; for it was immediately voted with universal Consent and Applause, and Power given to *Scipio* to pass into *Asia*, if he saw it convenient.
- In

In the mean time *Antiochus* lay at *Ephesus* in *Asia*, secure, as he imagin'd, of the *Romans*; but *Hannibal*, who had advis'd him to invade *Italy*, told him, *He rather admir'd they were not there already, than doubted of their coming*, and procur'd the Forces to be sent for out of the further Provinces, and all the Ships that were ready, to secure the Passage of the *Hellespont*, where the Consul most probably would pass. *Pergamus*, the chief City of *Eumenes*, the Friend of the *Romans*, was likewise invested, but the Siege was soon rais'd, and *Antiochus* sent to *Æmilius* the Roman Admiral, now on those Coasts, about a Peace; but he disown'd all Power of concluding it without the Consul. Soon after, the *Rhodians* defeated his Admiral at Sea, which was *Hannibal*, a Man out of his proper Element; and after that in a Fight with *Æmilius*, *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, he intirely lost the Command at Sea. *Antiochus*, affrighted at this ill Fortune, imprudently abandon'd *Lyfimachia*, which might have kept the Consul in Action a Year longer; and, adding one piece of Indiscretion to another, suffer'd the *Scipio's* to pass the *Hellespont* into *Asia* without Opposition. This was the first time that the *Romans* got Footing in *Asia*, which so startled *Antiochus*, that he offer'd to quit all Places in *Europe*, and such in *Asia* as were Friends of *Rome*, to pay half the Charges the *Romans* were at in this War; and rather than not obtain Peace, to part with a Portion of his own Kingdom.

The Ambassadors who carry'd these Proposals us'd their utmost Endeavours to procure the Favour of *Africanus*, offering him the Restitution of his Son who had been taken Prisoner, and many other great and honourable Advantages, if it cou'd be effected: But *Africanus* wou'd promise nothing more than only private Offices of Kindness, modestly letting 'em to know, *That since Antiochus was now in such a declining State, Peace was not probably to be purchased at so easy a Rate as formerly.* Whereupon *Antiochus* made

made what Provision he cou'd for a Battel; and *Africanus* falling sick soon after, to comfort him, and to gain his Favour, he sent him his Son without Ransom; upon which the other, in way of Requital, advis'd him not to engage with his Brother till he cou'd return to the Camp. *Antiochus* therefore, having receiv'd this Message, declin'd fighting what he cou'd, till *Scipio* the Consul press'd so hard upon him nigh *Magnesia*, that he was forc'd to draw out his Men to the Number of 70000 Foot, and 12000 Horse. *Scipio* oppos'd him with a much less Army, but in a few hours time entirely defeated him, where his own Chariots, arm'd with Scythes, being driven back upon his own Men, contributed much to his Overthrow. *Antiochus* now was glad to procure Peace of the Romans upon their own Terms, and Ambassadors were dispatch'd accordingly, where *Africanus* told 'em, That the Romans were never wont to insult over their conquer'd Enemies; and therefore nothing shou'd be requir'd of him more than formerly. The Terms were, To pay 15000 Talents of Eubœa for the Expences of the War, to quit all their Possessions in Europe, and likewise all Asia on this side Mount Taurus; to deliver up Hannibal and other Incendiaries, and to give 20 Hostages for securing the Peace. Thus ended the War with *Antiochus* the Great, much to the Advantage of Rome, within two Years time or less, twelve Years after the second Punick War, *Lucius Scipio* having gain'd the Surname of *Asiaticus*, as his Brother had of *Africanus*.

U. C.
565.

III. The Romans had now but little Employment abroad, besides chastising the *Ætolians* in Greece, which was soon effected by *Manlius*, *Scipio's* Colleague; and by the same Consul an Expedition was undertaken against the *Gallo-Græcians*, or *Gallatians*, in Asia, with good Success; but Luxury and Idleness was first brought into Rome by his Army out of Asia. The same Year the Census being perform'd, 258328 Free Citizens

Citizens were cess'd. In the third Year after the ending of the War with *Antiochus*, *Scipio Africanus* was maliciously accus'd of defrauding the Treasury of the Booty taken in the War, and of too nigh a Correspondence with *Antiochus*, and of Matters of the like nature. Some write that his Accusers were incited to it by *Cato*, who hated him for his being frequently saluted King in *Spain* by the Inhabitants there, and occasion'd him to have a Day set him by the *Tribunes* to answer it before the People. The Day of Hearing being come, and the *Tribunes* having taken their Places in the *Rostra*, this great Man enter'd the Assembly, with a mighty Train of Friends and Clients, all the People having their Eyes fix'd upon him with Admiration. Silence being made, he with an undaunted Bravery put on his Triumphal Crown, and with the Voice of a Conqueror; cry'd, *This very Day, O Romans! I did overcome the fierce Hannibal, and vanquish'd the powerful Carthaginians; therefore let us lay aside private Contests, and go as many as can to the Capitol, to thank the Gods for giving me the Will and Power of doing such eminent Services for my Country.* Whereupon going up to the *Capitol*, the whole Assembly follow'd him, as also to all the Temples in the City, insomuch that the very *Viators* and *Clerks* left the *Tribunes* alone, who from Accusers were turn'd Admirers.

Shortly after, the Senate accus'd him in the Senate-House, and desir'd he might be brought to his Answer. *Scipio* boldly rising up, produc'd his Books of Accounts, and tore 'em in pieces before 'em all, *disdaining to give an Account for so small a matter, in comparison of the vast Sums he himself had brought into the Treasury.* The next Day of Appearance he absented himself, and his Brother declaring his Indisposition, he was excus'd, and another Day appointed, before which time he withdrew himself to *Linternum*, a Sea-Town of *Campania*, and there liv'd a retir'd Life. In his Absence the *Tribunes* were ve-

U. C.
571.

ry violent against him; yet through the Interposition of *Gracchus*, one of 'em, he was not condemn'd. His Brother *Asiaticus* was shortly after call'd to an Account about Matters of the same nature, but by *Gracchus's* means likewise escap'd publick Punishment. The Year following, many scandalous Abuses of the Feast of *Bacchus* were strictly enquir'd into and reform'd. Three Years after which, the Great *Africanus* dy'd, who according to *Val. Maximus*, order'd, *Ingrata Patria ne ossa quidem mea habes*, to be engraven on his Tomb, *My ungrateful Country shall have none of my Remains*. This same Year was remarkable for the Death of two other famous Men, *Philopœmen*, Captain of the *Achæans* in Greece, and *Hannibal*; the latter of which had fled to several Places to escape falling into the Hands of the Romans, and at last to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, who, out of Fear, was about delivering him up, when *Hannibal* took Poyson, which 'tis said he carry'd about him in his Ring, first invoking the Gods of Hospitality as Witnesses of the violated Faith of King *Prusias*, and upbraiding the present Romans with degenerating from their Ancestors, who had honourably prevented the Murder of their mortal Enemy *Pyrrhus*; whereas these had basely sent to *Prusias* to murder his Guest and Friend.

U. C.
583.

The Romans were for about 12 Years after this chiefly employ'd in Wars with their Neighbours the *Ligurians* and *Istrians*, with the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*, and likewise with the *Celtiberians* in Spain, all which they reduc'd to Subjection. In which Space of time the Works of *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of Rome, after they had been buried in a Stone Chest 535 Years, were taken up and burnt by Order of the Senate; and in a *Lustration* not long after, 273244 Free Citizens were cefs'd. About two Years after this, *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, the Son of *Philip*, invited by his Father's Preparations before his Death, and pleas'd with his own Strength and
imaginary

imaginary Successes, renounc'd the League made with the *Romans*, and so began the second *Macedonian* War, 25 Years after the finishing of the first, and 18 after that with *Antiochus*. Upon this, *Quintus Marcius* and others were sent into *Greece* to secure and establish the Confederates in their Fidelity; which made *Perseus* begin to reflect upon what he had done; and understanding the Motions and Preparations of the *Romans*, he apply'd himself to *Marcius* about a Treaty for Peace, relying upon the ancient Friendship between their two Families. The Ambassadors were well satisfied with this Opportunity, and to divert him from Action, granted him Truce till he might send to *Rome*; for without this, he might have began the War much to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*, who had neither Army nor Commander yet arrived in *Greece*.

The Senate deny'd him Peace, and *Attilius* the Consul was sent to seize upon *Barissa*, the chief City of *Thessaly*: Whereupon *Perseus* drew all his Forces together, having gather'd together a greater Army than any of his Predecessors were Masters of since *Alexander the Great*. He took in some Towns upon his Frontiers, and *Licinius* the Consul led such a raw undisciplin'd Army into *Macedonia*, and through such difficult and almost impassable Places, that had *Perseus* made his Advantage of this Opportunity, he might easily have destroy'd it. After this, he sent to *Licinius*, offering to observe the Articles to which his Father Philip had submitted, by paying the Tribute, and leaving the Cities to their Liberty; but could not obtain Peace to be granted him upon these Terms. Soon after, *Thebes* and *Aleartus* were taken by *Lucretius* the Praetor; and the Consul having had the Advantage in another Skirmish, possess'd himself of some Towns, and took up his Winter-Quarters: Mean while *Appianus Claudius* lost many Men in *Illyricum*. The Year following, *Hostilius* the Consul, who was to manage this War, perform'd but little of moment besides

reducing his Men to that antient Discipline which his Predecessor had too much neglected. *Marcus Philippus* succeeding him, at his first Entrance into his Province might have easily been defeated, had he met with a prudent and expert Enemy, the Ways being so difficult and dangerous to pass, that his Soldiers could scarce hold their Weapons in their Hands, by reason of their Weariness. And after he had enter'd the Plains, he might as easily have been block'd up and starv'd, had not *Perseus*, struck with a groundless Fear, retreated to *Pydna*, and left all the Passes open to him. Yet *Marcus* acted nothing of Consequence, leaving all to be perform'd by his Successor *Æmilius Paulus*, who had been Consul 17 Years before, and was a very experienced Commander.

Æmilius very skilfully managed the War, and caused the Eclipse of the Moon to be foretold to his Soldiers, lest they should be discouraged by it, which much terrify'd the Enemy that knew nothing of the natural Cause. He kept his Men from fighting when they were fatigued, tho' the Officers were desirous to engage: But the Armies lying encamped on each side the River *Enipeus*, a Beast, by chance, passing over from the Roman side, was seiz'd on, and being rescued, by degrees drew both Armies to an Engagement, wherein *Perseus* lost the Day, and with it his Kingdom. He flying into the Isle of *Crete*, when all abandon'd him, surrender'd himself into the Hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Æmilius* severely chastiz'd the *Epirots*, who had join'd with *Perseus*, plundering and demolishing about 70 of their Towns, whereby such a great Booty was gain'd, that each Footman had 200 *Denarii*, (above 7 *English* Pounds) and every Horseman twice as much. But the Soldiers having gain'd little or no Plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the King's Treasure, deny'd their General a Triumph, which he obtain'd notwithstanding, and that a most splendid one too, such as *Rome* scarce ever saw before, *Perseus* himself and his two Sons being

being led in great State and Magnificence before his Triumphal Chariot. And the same Year *Cn. Octavius*, the *Prætor* at Sea, triumph'd, and *L. Anicius*, before whose Chariot was *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, who being a Confederate of *Perseus*, was obliged to yield himself Prisoner. Thus ended the second *Macedonian* War in three Years time, and with it the *Macedonian* Kingdom, after it had continu'd 156 Years after *Alexander's* Death, and several Hundreds of Years before; *Æmilius*, by this Conquest, bringing 200 Millions of Sesterces into the Treasury, according to *Paterculus*.

IV. Now the *Roman* Grandeur began to display it self thro' all Countries and Nations; many Kings and Potentates became humble Suppliants to the Senate, being all at their disposal; and Learning now flourish'd much more than ever, being much forward-ed by the *Roman* Converse and Familiarity with the *Grecians*, whom they had lately conquer'd; and much encouraged by *Scipio* and *Lælius*, the two noble Patrons of Eloquence, Poetry, and all Arts, and the worthiest and most accomplish'd Gentlemen in *Rome*. The former of these was *Æmilius* the Consul's Son, adopted by the Son of *Africanus*; and the other was Son to *Lælius*, who formerly did great Service in *Africa*. In this time flourish'd the famous Comedian *Terence*, who writ with extraordinary Correctness and Accuracy, and help'd to bring the *Roman* Tongue to a great Perfection, as to Purity and Propriety, his first Play being acted one Year after the Conquest of *Macedonia* and *Perseus*. And not only the Learning, Riches, and Dominions of *Rome* were increas'd, but likewise the Inhabitants; for in a Lustration about this time, there were 312081 Free Citizens cens'd. For 17 or 18 Years the *Romans* were employ'd in more inferior Wars, such as those with the *Ligurians*, *Corficans*, *Dalmatians*, and *Spaniards*, and likewise the *Macedonians*, being all in the nature of Revolts,

U. C.
586.

U.C. 604. volts, which tho' they often created much Trouble to the State, yet they were not so memorable as to deserve a particular Account in this Volume.

These Wars were scarcely finish'd, when the Romans found a Pretence to begin the third Carthaginian War, which was, their being in Arms against *Masanissa*, a Roman Ally, tho' they had sufficient Justice on their side. The Roman Ambassadors who were sent to *Carthage*, finding the City very rich and flourishing from their fifty Years Peace, at their Return insisted much on the Danger which threaten'd Rome from that State, especially *Cato*, who never came into the Senate, but after his speaking to any publick Business, concluded with *Delenda est Carthago*; *Carthage is to be destroy'd*. He was often oppos'd by *Scipio Nasica*, who urg'd, *That upon the Removal of so powerful a Rival, Security would cause the Ruin and Dissolution of the Roman Commonwealth*, as it afterwards prov'd: But *Cato's* Reasons, drawn from the present Danger, so over-ruled *Scipio's* Forecast, that the Senate now having a Pretence of an open Breach of Articles, order'd War to be proclaim'd against the *Carthaginians*, and both the Consuls were sent, with a full Resolution utterly to destroy *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, affrighted at the Romans Preparations, immediately condemn'd those who had broken the League, and most humbly offer'd any reasonable Satisfaction. Answer was return'd to them, *That they should enjoy all as formerly, provided they sent 300 Hostages of the chief of the City within 30 Days to Sicily, and did what the Consuls should farther command them*. The *Carthaginians*, desiring nothing more than Peace, sent their Children within the limited Time; and the Consuls landing at *Utica* soon after, they sent their Commissioners to wait upon them, and know their Pleasure. *Censorinus* the Consul, commending their Diligence, demanded all their Arms, which without any Fraud were delivered up. Now the *Carthaginians* im-

ploring

ploring Mercy, with many Tears, and all possible Submission, desired to know their last Doom: the Consuls told 'em, *That they were commanded to quit their City, which they had special Orders to level with the Ground, and build another any where in their own Territories, so it were but 10 Miles from the Sea.* This severe Command they received with all the Concern and Rage of a despairing People, and resolv'd to suffer the greatest Extremities, rather than abandon or yield to the Ruin of their antient Seat and Habitation.

The Consuls were very backward in beginning the War, not doubting but easily to become Masters of the City, now in this naked and defenceless Condition; but they found it quite otherwise; for the Inhabitants acting by a desperate Rage and Fury, both Men and Women fell to working Night and Day in the Defence of the City, and making of Arms: And where Iron and Brass were wanting, they made use of Gold and Silver, the Women freely cutting off the Hair of their Heads, to supply the place of Tow or Flax. *Asdrubal*, who had lately been condemn'd upon the account of the *Romans*, was now made their General, and Governor of the City, where he had already a good Army; and such Preparations were made, that when the Consuls came before the City, they found such notable Resistance as much discouraged them, and as much increased the Resolution of the Besieg'd. The Consuls engaged several times to their Disadvantage, and might have been great Losers, had not the Army been secured and brought off by the great Wisdom and Courage of *Scipio Æmilianus*, formerly mention'd, who drew over *Pharneas*, Master of the *Carthaginian* Horse, to his side; which Action gain'd him great Fame and Honour. This Year dy'd *Masanissa*, 90 Years old, leaving his Kingdom and a young Son to *Scipio's* Discretion: And the same Year dy'd *Cato* in *Rome*, in the 85th Year

Year of his Age, who did not live to see the too much desir'd Ruin of *Rome*.

Little was perform'd by the Consuls in the following Year, for they only invested *Clupea* and *Hippo*, without taking of either; but at *Rome* all Mens Eyes were fix'd upon *Scipio*, looking upon him as the Person destin'd to end the War; and whereas he sought only for the *Ædileship*, the People bestow'd the *Consulship* upon him, dispensing with his Age and other usual Qualifications. *Scipio* soon let 'em know, that their Honours were not ill bestow'd; for having restor'd Discipline, which had been too much neglected by the foregoing Consuls, he soon after took that Part of *Carthage* call'd *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the Citadel or *Byrsa*. Then securing the *Isthmus* which led to the City, he cut off all Provisions from out of the Country, and block'd up the Haven; but the Besieg'd, with miraculous and incredible Industry, cut out a new Passage into the Sea, whereby, at certain Times, they cou'd receive Necessaries from the Army without. *Scipio* therefore, in the beginning of the Winter, set upon their Forces lying in the Field, of which he kill'd 70000, and took 10000 Prisoners; by which means the Besieg'd could have no Relief from abroad, so that they were now in a sad and despairing Condition.

In the Beginning of the next Spring, he took the Wall leading to the Haven *Citho*, and soon after the *Forum* it self, where was a most miserable and deplorable Spectacle of slaughter'd People; for some hewn in pieces by the Sword; others half kill'd by the Fall of Houses, or Fires; some half bury'd in the Earth and trampled on, and others torn Limb from Limb, lay mangled in vast Heaps after a sad and lamentable manner. Still the Citadel held out, till at last it was desir'd by some, *That all that wou'd come forth shou'd have their Lives*; which being granted to all but Revolters, above 50000 yielded, and were sav'd,

as did afterwards *Asdrubal* himself. He was much revil'd for it by the Revolters, who finding their Condition desperate, set fire to the Temple, and burnt themselves with it; whose Example was follow'd by *Asdrubal's* Wife, who in a desperate Fury threw herself and her two Children into the midst of the Flames. Then was this magnificent City laid in Ashes, being 24 Miles in compass, and so large, that the burning of it continu'd 17 Days together. The Senate at *Rome* receiv'd this long expected News with extraordinary Joy and Satisfaction, and dispatch'd Men of their own Order, whom they join'd with *Scipio* for the disposing of the Country. These order'd that none of *Carthage* should be left; and that it might never be re-built, they denounc'd heavy Curses on any that should offer to do it. All the Cities which assisted in this War were order'd to be demolish'd. and the Lands given to the Friends of the *Roman* People; and the rest of the Towns were to be Tributaries, and govern'd yearly by a *Prætor* appointed for that purpose, all the Captives and Prisoners being sold, except some of the principal.

This was the fatal end of one of the most renown'd Cities in the World, both for Command and Riches, 708 Years after it was first built, having been Rival to *Rome* above 100 Years: And this was the End of the third and last *Carthaginian* War, which was finish'd in the 4th Year after it began, to the great Enlargement of the Dominions, Power, and Riches of the *Roman* State. This happen'd in the 608th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3859, in the third Year of the 158th *Olympiad*, 363 Years since the Beginning of the *Consular State*, 184 since the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander*, 119 since the first Contest between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and 144 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. XII.

From the Destruction of Carthage to the End of the Sedition of the Gracchi; which much shook the Government, and was the first Step towards the Ruin of the Consular State.

Containing the Space of 23 Years.

U. C.
608.

NOW Rome began to pride herself to a higher degree than ever, having got free from her Enemies that she most feared and most hated, her Dominions being extended to a large Circumference, and the Commonwealth increas'd to a noble height of Glory, but to a more dangerous degree of Security in respect of Neighbours, which in not many Years prov'd the Dissolution of the present Government. However, the Power and Conquests of the State still daily increas'd, and this same Year *Corinth*, one of the noblest Cities in *Greece*, sustain'd the same Fate with *Carthage*, being levell'd with the Ground. The Occasion was given by the *Achæans* themselves, who not only affronted the *Roman* Ambassadors sent to dissolve the Confederacy, and to leave the Cities to the Government of their own peculiar Laws, but likewise join'd with others in a War against the *Lacedæmonians*, the Allies of *Rome*. Upon these Grounds the Senate decreed War against 'em, and *Metellus*, now in *Macedonia*, undertook it; who drawing down his Army thro' *Thessaly* into *Boeotia*, overthrew *Critolaus*, then took *Thebes* and *Megara*, about which time *Mummius* the Consul succeeded him in his Province. And this *Mummius* overthrew *Diems* the *Achæan* General; after which he enter'd *Corinth*, and demolish'd it, because there the Ambassadors had been affronted. And

as

as *Scipio*, who destroy'd *Carthage*, like the former *Scipio*, had the Surname of *Africanus*, and *Metellus* for reducing *Macedonia*, that of *Macedonicus*; so *Mummius*, for his Success this Year, obtain'd the Surname of *Achaicus*, because he reduced those Parts, and all *Greece*, with *Epirus*, into the Form of a Province, call'd afterwards by the general Name of *Achaia*.

It was now 74 Years since the *Romans* enter'd *Spain* in a hostile manner, and many and frequent Strugglings had been made by that People, especially since the Departure of *Scipio Africanus* the Elder: At this time was *Viriatius* up in Arms, who from a Shepherd became a Robber, and from a Robber a General over a numerous Party of such as himself, which created the *Romans* much Trouble for some time. And *Filbinus*, the Brother of *Scipio* the Younger, after some Success against him, was at last reduced to such Extremities, that he was obliged to accept of Peace upon equal Terms, which *Cæpio*, the following Year's Consul, refused to stand to, receiving new Orders from the Senate to prosecute the War. *Cæpio* attempted to destroy *Viriatius* by Surprise, but he escap'd, and soon after sending his Ambassadors to treat of a Peace, *Cæpio* so wrought upon 'em, that they murder'd him in his Bed at their Return, to their own Shame, and the Consul's great Dishonour. But the most difficult and dangerous part of this War was at *Numantia*, a Town of no great Bigness, but peopled with Inhabitants of extraordinary Valour. Before *Viriatius*'s Death they had foil'd *Q. Pompeius* the Consul several times, and likewise his Successor *Mancianus*, who were constrain'd to make dishonourable Treaties with 'em, but afterwards sufficient Pretences were found to break 'em, *Mancianus* being deliver'd up bound to the Enemy. After this *Brutus* defeated many thousands of the *Lusitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallacians*; but *Lepidus* the Proconsul was far less successful; for setting upon the *Vaccæi*, a harmless and quiet People of the hithermost *Spain*, he was entirely defeated by them. These

U. C.
609.

These Misfortunes so terrify'd the *Roman* Soldiers, that they were ready to tremble at the sight of a *Spaniard*; and this oblig'd the Citizens of *Rome* to chuse *Scipio Africanus* Consul a second time, as the chief Hope and Bulwark of their Country. *Scipio* at first restor'd Discipline, the want of which had been the Cause of all their former ill Success; but coming to engage, he found the Courage of the Enemy so extraordinary, that he resolv'd to fight no more, but lay a close Siege to *Numantia*, which he did with all possible Care and Diligence. At last the Besieged were so straiten'd, that they offer'd to yield upon reasonable Terms, or to fight if they might have Battel given 'em, notwithstanding the great Inequality of their Numbers: But neither of these being allow'd 'em, they all drank strong Liquors purposely to inflame themselves, and then fell upon the Besiegers with such a desperate Fury, that the *Romans* had all fled, had any other General but *Scipio* commanded 'em. The Besieged finding there was no avoiding being made Prisoners, fired the City over their own Heads, scarce a Man being left to be led in Triumph. This famous City, seated in *Gallæcia*, had for 14 Years together withstood 40000 *Romans* with only 4000 Men, often putting them to great Loss and Shame: And that it might be no longer a Trouble to them, *Scipio* destroy'd it, after a Siege of 15 Months; 13 Years after he had destroy'd *Carthage*; *Mutius Scævola* and *Calpurnius Piso*, both learned Men, being Consuls. *Scipio* gain'd a great Name both by destroying *Carthage* and *Numantia*, the former being a Terror, and the latter a Reproach to the *Romans*. All *Spain* was now brought to a more entire Subjection than ever, being not many Years before divided into the three Provinces of *Terraconensis*, *Bætica*, and *Lusitanica*, two *Prætors* being yearly sent thither for its better Government. At this Time flourish'd *Lucilius* the famous *Satyrist*, the first, at least of Note, of that kind.

kind in *Rome* ; and this same Year was a Servile War in *Sicily* ; but the Slaves were in a short time intirely broken and dispersed.

II. The *Romans* now began daily to degenerate from their antient Modesty, Plainness, and Severity of Life ; addicting themselves more and more to Pleasure and Luxury : For the *Asian* Expeditions and Triumphs having brought in Excess and Riot, and the Ruin of *Carthage* taken away all Fear ; Idleness and Security, as well as Avarice and Ambition, by degrees stole in upon them, and almost a general Corruption began to mix with the State. For tho' after this time many a powerful People were subdued, Arts and Learning daily increas'd and flourish'd, and great Glory was obtain'd abroad, yet it was often stain'd and sully'd with inglorious Factions, seditious Jealousies and Contentions at Home, sometimes to the shedding of one another's Blood ; of which, that of *Tiberius Gracchus* was the first remarkable Instance. This Person, being the Elder *Africanus*'s Grandson, and of a stirring and active Spirit, had a share in *Mancinus*'s dishonourable Treaty in *Spain* ; for which being reflected on by the Senate, (who, not without Injustice, had broke it) and therefore both shamed and affrighted, he endeavour'd to make himself Popular, by restraining the unjust Oppressions of the Nobility, which were now far more notorious than formerly : And therefore procuring himself to be chosen *Tribune*, he preferr'd a Law, forbidding any Man to possess above 500 Acres of the publick Lands, and ordering the Overplus to be divided among the Poor. For it was customary for the *Romans* to divide those Lands which were taken from their Enemies among their own Citizens, if arable ; if not, they farm'd 'em out by the *Censors* to the *Italians*, or the ordinary sort of *Romans*, upon condition, that if they plow'd 'em, they should pay the tenth Part of the Corn,
and

and the Fifth of other Fruits ; but if they did not plow them, they paid a certain Rent. But Corruptions daily increasing in the State, the poor Husbandmen were, by degrees, thrust out of their antient Possessions by the great Oppressions and Licentiousness of the Rich, who, by purchasing and other Methods, got those Lands all into their own Hands ; so that the Publick, by this means, was defrauded of its Revenues, and the Poor of their Livelihoods.

For the Reformation of these Abuses, *Gracchus* took great Care ; and whereas the *Lex Licinia* and *Sempronia* were formerly enacted for restraining the Avarice of the Rich, he strengthened the former by adding, lest the Law should be wrested, *That one Half should be given to the Children, and the rest divided among such Poor as had nothing ;* and lest any should go about to enlarge their Portions by Purchase, *Triumviri*, or Three Men, were yearly appointed to judge what Lands were publick, and what were private. These Matters, tho' at first carried on with sufficient Moderation, extremely disgusted the Nobility and richer Sort, who, by vertue of this Law, were to part with much of their Estates ; and for that reason they frequently insinuated to the People, *That Gracchus had introduced this Law with a Design only to disturb the Government, and to put all Things into Confusion.* But *Gracchus* being a Person of great Abilities and Eloquence, easily wip'd off those Aspersions, and in a publick Speech told the People, *That while the savage Beasts and Destroyers of Mankind wanted not their Places of Repose and Refuge, those Men who exposed their Lives for their Countries were forbidden all Enjoyments but the open Air and Sun-shine. That their Commanders before the Battels ridiculously exhorted 'em to fight for the Temples and Altars, and their Ancestors Seats ! when they had none of these to defend or care for. They had the Honour indeed of gaining large and rich Dominions, but had not the Profit of enjoying*
the

the smallest and meanest Possessions ; and likewise had the Honour of being styled Lords of the Universe, but had not the Command of one Foot of Land.

This Speech, and some others of his, had great Effect upon the common People, who before were forward enough in promoting a Law so very advantageous to themselves ; but *Gracchus* meeting with much Opposition on one Side, as well as Encouragement on the other, began now to proceed with greater Heat and Violence ; and being opposed by *Octavius*, one of his Colleagues, he so managed him both by Cunning and Violence ; as he was forced to quit his Office ; into which Place he chose *Mummius*, one of his own Faction. This Action of his being without all Precedent, much alienated the Minds of many of the Multitude ; and his own Party, who judg'd he used too great a Freedom with the *Sacrosanct* Office of the *Tribuneship*. *Gracchus* perceiving this, first made a very plausible Defence ; and the more to ingratiate himself with the People, he offer'd to prefer a Law for distributing the Money of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, which he had lately left, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. This caus'd greater Disturbances among the Senate and Nobility than before, and all things were carry'd on with more violent Feuds than ever ; so that *Gracchus's* Death began now to be thought on and design'd, as the surest Means to quiet all Disturbances, and to compose all Differences.

The Senate being assembled to consult the most proper Method in this Juncture, and all being of Opinion that *Mutius Scævola* the Consul should defend the Commonwealth by Arms, he refused to act any thing by Force. Whereupon *Scipio Nasica*, *Gracchus's* Kinsman, taking up his Gown under his left Arm, held up his right Hand in great Passion, crying, *Since the Consul regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, let every Man that will defend the Dignity and Authority*
of

of the *Laws*, follow me! Upon this, he went directly up to the *Capitol*, being accompanied with most of the Senate, many *Equites*, and some Commoners, arm'd with Clubs, Scaves, and such like Weapons; who knocking down all that resisted, open'd their Way into the *Capitol*, where *Gracchus* was speaking to the People, and endeavouring to be chosen *Tribune* for the following Year. In which Place they fell upon both him and his Hearers, of whom they kill'd 300, and with them, himself with a piece of a Seat, as he was endeavouring to save himself by Flight. This was the first Insurrection among the *Romans*, that ended with Effusion of Blood, since the Abrogation of Kingly Government; for all former Seditions, tho' many of them were very great and lasting, were constantly ended by the two Parties yielding to one another, and submitting all to the Good of the Publick; for then Riches and private Interest were not understood among the *Romans*.

At this time there were some Risings at *Athens* and at *Delos*; being a Spark of that Fire kindled by the Slaves in *Sicily* the Year before, which with some Trouble were extinguish'd; neither was *Italy* it self altogether free from them. But a greater War ensu'd about the Kingdom of *Asia*; for *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* or *Asia*, by his last Will had left the People of *Rome* his Heirs, as was before observ'd: But after his Decease, *Aristonicus*, his Bastard-Brother, seiz'd on the Kingdom as his own Inheritance and Right. *Licinius Crassus* the Consul was first sent against him, but was unfortunately overthrown in the first Battel; and being taken Prisoner, struck one of the Soldiers on the Eye, on purpose to provoke him to kill him, which he did. He thus miscarrying, tho' with the Assistance of several Kings, his Successor *Perpenna* hastened into *Asia*, set upon *Aristonicus* unawares, before he was recover'd of his Security contracted by his Victory, first overthrew him in Battel, then besieg'd him

him in *Stratonice*, where by Famine he forc'd him to a Surrender, shortly after which he dy'd himself at *Pergamus*. The remainder of the War was finish'd by *Aquilius*, the following Year's Consul, who having settled the Province with sufficient Oppression of the People, led *Aristonicus* in Triumph, tho' he had been taken by another; and afterwards, by Order of the Senate, he was strangled in Prison, about four Years after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, a little before which time a *Lustrum* being performed, 330823 Free Citizens were cels'd.

III. The Civil Dissentions occasion'd by *Gracchus*, did not die with him; his Law for the Division of the Lands being still in force, of which the People were so fond, that many Disturbances were rais'd upon that Account. Now *Gracchus* had a younger Brother, call'd *Caius*, who with *Flaccus* and *Papirius*, had been made *Triumviris* for dividing the Grounds. He with his Collegues undertook the Patronage of this Law, and performing his Office with great Vigour, such Trouble arose about the Divisions, the Reckonings, the Accounts, and Removals, that the *Italians* finding themselves severely press'd upon, betook themselves to *Scipio Africanus* for Ease. *Scipio* did not altogether reject their Suit, nor yet would he make any Objections against the Law itself; so he only mov'd in Senate, That the Executive Power of it might be taken from the *Triumviri*, and lodg'd in some others. The Senate most willingly agreed to this, and conferr'd it on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Consul; but he finding the Work troublesome and ungrateful, retir'd from the City, under Pretence of the War in *Illyricum*. There being none at present to fly to in this Juncture, the People were much incens'd at *Scipio*, accounting him ungrateful, and a Favourer of the *Italians* more than themselves: Which ill Opinions of him were increas'd by his approving of the Senior

R *Gracchus's*

U. C.
625.

Gracchus's Death, and his reprimanding the Multitude for being dissatisfied with it. But such was his Fortune, that being one Night retir'd to his Chamber, to meditate of something to speak to the People the next Day, in the Morning he was found dead in his Bed, not without Suspicion of Treachery from his Wife and Mother-in-law, the latter of which was Mother to the *Gracchi*. Nevertheless, being then in no Favour with the People, little Enquiry was made after his Death, tho' he was a Person of extraordinary Merits, and had been justly esteem'd the Bulwark of the State.

The Owners of the Land still made Delays in the Division, and some believ'd that the Partakers of the Dividends should likewise have the Freedom of the City; which, however lik'd of by others, was highly displeasing to the Senate. While the People were variously discoursing of these Matters, *Caius* obtain'd the *Tribuneship*, and bearing a great Enmity to the Senate, he found a fair Opportunity to shew it. He preferr'd several Laws, among the rest, one for dividing the publick Corn to every Man monthly; in which Laws he shew'd himself rather more stirring and active, and more dextrous than his Brother. Then procuring his Office to be continu'd to him another Year, he began more strictly to inspect into the late Corruptions of the Senate; such as their taking Bribes, their selling of Offices and such like unjust Proceedings. Whereupon he found means to transfer the Power of judging corrupt Officers from the Senators to the *Equites* or *Knights*, which gave the latter an extraordinary Authority, and made a remarkable Change and Alteration in the whole Government.

Equites.

These *Equites* were first instituted by *Romulus*, and tho' they were originally in the Commonwealth, yet they had no particular Authority, Rank or Order, till this Law of *Gracchus*, by which it was enacted, *That these Judgments should be peculiar to them.* So that

that whereas at first there were only two Orders or Ranks, namely, *Patrician* and *Plebeian*, which, thro' the Incroachments of the People, were afterwards distinguish'd only into *Senatorian* and *Plebeian*. By this Law, and especially by the Procurement of *Cicero*, afterwards the *Equites* became a distinct Order. Thus now the *Roman* Citizens consisted of three Ranks or Orders, namely, the *Senatorian*, which, included all the *Patricians*, and such of the *Plebeians* as could rise to be *Senators*; the *Plebeian*, which still continu'd the same as formerly; and the *Equestrian*, which before had always been included in the *Plebeian*, and had been only distinguish'd by their way of Service. *Gracchus* took the fairest Opportunity that he could expect for preferring this Law; for the *Senators* were become odious of late, because for Money they had acquitted *Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *Aquilius*, Persons capitally guilty of Corruption. But the great Power of these *Equites* became extreamly burdensome to the State, till by degrees their Authority came to be diminish'd. The *Equites* alone were wont to farm the publick Revenues and Customs from the *Censors*, and from thence had the Name of *Publi-Publicans*. These were the principal of the *Equestrian* Order, the Ornaments of the City, and the Strength of the State, who made up so many Companies as there were Provinces subject to the Payment of Toll, Tribute, Custom, or Impost.

Caius grew more and more in favour with the Commons, and was invested with a larger Authority than ordinary, which he manag'd with extraordinary Prudence and Cunning, being a Master of much Eloquence, and many other Accomplishments. And the more to gratify the Commons, he took special care about the High-ways, making them extraordinary handsome and pleasant, as well as useful and convenient; erecting likewise Pillars of Stone at the end of each Mile, to signify the distances from Place to Place: For *Caius* finding the *Senators* to be his Enemies, he

endeavour'd still more to ingratiate himself with the People by other new Laws; particularly, he propos'd that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens might be sent to the People of *Tarentum*, and that all the *Latines* should enjoy the same Privileges with the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Senate dreading the Effects of *Caius*'s Power, forbid the *Latines* to come near the City, at such time as they knew his Laws would be propos'd; and the better to satisfy and please the People, they gave leave to the sending of 12 Colonies. *Caius* thus frustrated of his Designs, departed into *Africk*, with *Flaccus* his Colleague, intending to plant a Colony where *Carthage* stood, calling it *Junonia*; but there he also met with a Disappointment, the Bound-marks of the intended City being continually remov'd in the Night-time by Wolves, as some Authors relate it; whereupon the *Augurs* and *Southsayers* pronounc'd the Design unlawful.

Caius having been twice *Tribune*, stood for it a third time, and had many Votes; but his Collegues, offended at his violent Carriage at this time, procur'd *Minutius Rufus* to be chosen into his Place, who began to abrogate many of his Laws; wherein he was seconded by *Opimius* the Consul, who was a profess'd Enemy to *Caius*, and endeavour'd to find some colourable Pretence to put him to death. Whereupon *Caius*, at the Instigation of his Friends, especially *Fulvius*, resolv'd presently to raise Forces, and at an Assembly in the *Capitol*, he and many of his Friends went thither privately arm'd. It happen'd that one *Antilius*, a Serjeant, coming down from the *Capitol*, cry'd out to *Fulvius* and his Friends, *Ye factious Citizens, make way for honest Men!* whereupon they immediately slew him. This Murther caus'd a great Disturbance in the Assembly, and *Caius* himself was very angry with those of his Party, for giving his Enemies so much Advantage against him, and endeavour'd to excuse himself, but could not be heard by reason of the Tumult; so together with his Friends
and

and Confederates, he retir'd home, the Consul keeping strict Watch all Night in the City. The next Day *Antilius's* Corps was brought upon a Bier thro' the *Forum*, and expos'd to open View just before the Senate-House, with design to stir up the People to a Revenge. The Senate invested *Opimius* with an extraordinary Power, and all the *Equites* were order'd to be in Arms, which forc'd *Caius* and all his Friends to betake themselves to Mount *Aventine*, where they fortify'd themselves, offering Liberty to all Slaves that should come in to them.

The Consul press'd hard upon *Caius*; and Proclamation was made, *That whoever should bring the Head either of Caius or Fulvius, should receive their Weight in Gold for a Reward.* *Caius* finding himself in no Condition for a long Defence, in a short time fled into a Grove beyond *Tiber*, and procur'd his Servant to kill him, who immediately after kill'd himself, and fell down dead upon his Master. One *Septimuleius* carried his Head to *Opimius*; and 'tis said, that to make it weigh the heavier, he took out the Brains, and fill'd the Skull with Lead. *Fulvius* flying to a Friend's House, was betray'd and slain; and by the Severity of *Opimius*, no less than 3000 Persons of his Party were put to Death. Thus fell *Caius Gracchus*, above 10 Years after his Brother *Tiberius Gracchus*, and six after he began to act much in the Commonwealth. These *Gracchi* had so far chang'd the Constitutions of the Commonwealth, and the Publick Peace was now so broken, particularly by the Disunion of *Patrons* and *Clients*, that the *Roman* State became very unsettled, and more liable to any new Revolution than ever; and tho' Reformation might be their Design; yet it might well be feared, that Ruin would be the Effect of such Disturbances in a Commonwealth now so corrupted with the Greatness of their Riches, as well as the Greatness of their Power. *Caius's* Death happen'd in the 621st Year of the City, in the 4th Year of the

164th Olympiad, 386 Years since the beginning of the Consular State, 207 since the setting up of the Macedonian Empire, and 121 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. XIII.

From the End of the Seditions of the Gracchi, to the End of the first Civil War in Italy, and to the Perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla; which was the second great Step to the Ruin of the Consular State.

Containing the Space of 41 Years.

U. C. 631. **T**HE Distempers and Disturbances of the Commonwealth were for the present asswag'd by the Death of *Caius Gracchus*; and soon after, a Law was made, that any one might sell his Land, which the Senior *Gracchus* had forbidden; by which means the Poor, partly by Purchase, and partly by Constraint, were again dispossest'd. After that, the Law for Division of Lands was fully abrogated by *Borcius*, and the Grounds left to their ancient Owners, with a *Proviso* to pay a Tribute to the People out of 'em. But not long after, the Tribute was likewise all taken away, and so nothing was left remaining for the Poor. During these Domestick Troubles, the *Sardinians* rebell'd, and were reduc'd by *Aurelius*, and the *Fregellans* were punish'd with the Loss of their City by *Opimius* the *Prætor*. About which time *Africk* was infected with a most prodigious Plague, destroying vast Numbers of Men, Cattel, and Fowl, occasion'd by an infinite Number of Locusts, which having over-spread the Ground, and destroy'd the Corn,

Corn, Fruits, and even Trees themselves, at length were driven by a Wind into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and there putrefying, corrupted the Air after a most wonderful manner. Two years after this, *Metellus* the Consul subdu'd the Islands *Beleares* near *Spain*, and restrain'd all the Piracies which were there maintain'd.

At the same time was carry'd on that War call'd *Bellum Allobrogicum*, the War with the *Allobroges*, a People inhabiting about the Countries, now call'd *Dauphine* and *Savoy*. This War was occasion'd first by the *Salies*, a People of *Gaul* beyond the *Alps*, who invading the *Massilians*, Allies of *Rome*, were chastis'd by *Fulvius*, and subdu'd by *Sextus Calvinus*. *Teutomalus* their King flying out of the Battel, was receiv'd and protected by the *Allobroges*, who likewise invaded the *Hedui*, Allies of *Rome*, and drew into Confederacy the *Averni*. The *Allobroges* were first overthrown by *Domitius Aenobarbus*, who kill'd 20000 of 'em, and took 3000 Prisoners, which great Victory was owing chiefly to his Elephants. After him *Fabius Maximus*, Grandson to *Paulus Aemilius*, and adopted into the *Fabian* Family, defeated 'em, with the *Averni* and *Ruteni*, in a most bloody Battel, where 120000 were reported to be slain; and moreover, taking one of their Kings Prisoners, he obtain'd the Surname of *Allobrogicus*. About which time *Gallia Narbonensis* was reduc'd into a Province, in the Year 636. Not long after, the *Scordisci*, a People of the Original, inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the *Roman* Army under *Cato* the Consul, yet were afterwards driven back into their own Country by *Didius* the *Prætor*, and the Consul *Drusus*; and after this they gave occasion of a glorious Triumph to *Minutius*, of which Honour *Metellus* also had a share. Soon after these Wars, in a *Lustration*, 394336 Free Citizens were poll'd in *Rome*, which Number was very little different from that in the *Lustrum* five Years before.

U. C.

634.

U. C.
643.

II. Rome had not very much Action abroad for a while, but in no long time began a considerable War in *Numidia*, call'd the *Jugurthine War*. It was occasion'd by *Jugurth*, Grandson to the famous *Masaniſſa* the Roman old Friend, who murder'd his Cousin *Hiempsal* to get his Kingdom, and attempted to do the same to his Brother *Adherbal*; but he made his escape, and fled to the *Romans* for Succour. Whereupon *Jugurth* being sensible how much Avarice and Injustice had crept into the City, he sent his Ambassadors with large Presents to *Rome*, which had such Effects upon the Senate, that they decreed him half the Kingdom, and sent ten Commissioners to divide it between him and *Adherbal*. The Commissioners thinking they might lawfully imitate their Masters in the Senate, were also brib'd to bestow the most rich and populous Part upon *Jugurth*; but he still unsatisfy'd, fell suddenly upon *Adherbal*, besieg'd him in *Cirta*, and getting him into his Hands, likewise murder'd him. For this, War was decreed against *Jugurth*, and committed to the Management of *Calpurnius Bestia* the Consul, who shortly after invaded *Numidia* with great Vigour and Diligence, and took in some Towns; but he was soon stop'd in his Career, being overcome by the golden Weapons of *Jugurth*, so that a Treaty of Peace was soon set on foot. The Senate were a little mov'd at this, and at the Power of *Scaurus*, who accompanying the Consul, as his Friend and Counsellor, was likewise guilty of the same Crime; and therefore the People got *Cassius Longinus* the *Prætor* to go and procure *Jugurth* to come to *Rome* upon the Publick Faith of the State, that by that means they might discover all such as had been guilty of Bribery.

Cassius with no great difficulty perswaded *Jugurth* to make trial of the Clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himself upon the Peoples Mercy; whereupon he came to *Rome* in a pitiful and mournful Habit.

But

But coming into the Assembly, *Babius* the Tribune bad him hold his Peace, he being also brib'd to defer the Business, and delude the People. At the same time was one *Massina* in Rome, *Jugurth's* Cousin-German, who had fled from *Africk* formerly. This Person was perswaded by *Albinus* the Consul to beg the Kingdom of the Senate; but *Jugurth* having some Intelligence of the Design, procur'd him to be assassinated, and convey'd the Murderer away to *Numidia*. Hereupon, within a few Days, he was commanded to be gone, and being out of the City, he look'd upon it, with his Hands lifted up, crying, O Rome, *that would'st be sold thy Self, were there but a Chapman for thee!* So extremely were the Inhabitants degenerated from their former Fidelity, Modesty and Abstinence, which afterwards brought upon them the greatest Miseries that ever beset any State. *Albinus* follow'd him with an Army, which after he himself had been some time there, he left with his Brother *Aulus*, who in the Consul's Absence, by Vertue of some Compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the chief Treasure of the Kingdom lay, when he was just upon investing it. The Centurions were likewise so corrupted, that when *Albinus* return'd, *Jugurth* was suffer'd to break into the Camp, whence beating out the Army, he either forc'd, or by former Agreement, brought *Albinus* to submit upon most dishonourable Terms.

In this Condition did *Metellus*, the following Consul, find Affairs, and the whole Army was almost ruin'd for want of Discipline, to the great Dishonour of the Roman State, and the grievous Vexation of the honestest Sort in the City. *Metellus* having with much Difficulty brought his Soldiers into good Order, within the Space of two Years overthrew *Jugurth* several times, forc'd him out of several Towns, and pursu'd him beyond his own Frontiers, which constrain'd him to submit and beg Peace; but he in a short time broke the Conditions of it,
and

and so the former Hostility return'd. At this time, one *C. Marius* was *Legatus* or Lieutenant to *Metellus*, a Person of Frugality, Policy, and Military Experience, and of vast Courage in War; a Contemner of Pleasure, but very ambitious of Honour, which made him extremely desirous to gain the *Consulship*. To obtain this, he privately blamed *Metellus* to the Merchants of *Utica*, avowing, That he was able with half the Army to take *Jugurth* Prisoner, and that within few Days. By these and the like detracting Discourses, he procured many Complaints to be written to Rome against *Metellus*; and getting leave to go thither, obtain'd the *Consulship*, and had likewise the Management of the War committed to him. Notwithstanding, the People were so grateful to *Metellus*, that at his Return, being satisfy'd as to his Behaviour, they both granted him a Triumph, and bestow'd upon him the Surname of *Numidicus*, as an additional Honour.

Marius shew'd himself a very expert Warrior, and in a short time took the City *Capsa*, a Place very rich and strong; and after this another, call'd *Mulucha*. *Jugurth* now finding himself too weak to oppose him any longer, procured *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, and his Father-in-law, to join with him, who, by the Assistance of his numerous Cavalry, much harass'd the Roman Army. *Marius* had invested *Cirta*, and *Bocchus* approaching to raise the Siege, partly by the Number of his Horse, reported to be 60000, and partly by the violent Heats and great Dusts, the Romans were sorely distress'd, and the Fight continued dangerous and terrible to them for three Days; at the end of which, a Tempest of Rain falling, spoil'd the Enemies Weapons, and reliev'd *Marius's* Men, almost famish'd with Thirst; and now the Course of Fortune changing, the two Kings were entirely defeated. In another Battel, *Marius*, 'tis said, kill'd 90000; after which *Bocchus* began to repent of his Enterprize, and sent to Rome to enter
into

into a League, which he could not procure ; nevertheless he obtain'd Pardon for his Crime. Not long after *Marius* took *Jugurth* in an Ambuscade, whither he had drawn him by specious Pretences, and deliver'd him up to *Sylla* his *Quaestor*, who had brought over some Forces from *Italy* ; and under *Marius* he learnt that Skill in War, which he afterwards employ'd against him. *Jugurth*, with his two Sons, were led in Triumph by *Marius* ; and shortly after, by Order of the Senate, he was put to Death ; and so the *Jugurthine* War ended, after it had continued about seven Years.

III. At the same time a War was carry'd on against the *Cimbri*, a vagabond People of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, now call'd *Denmark*, who joining with the *Teutones*, a Nation of the *Germans*, made dreadful Irruptions into several Parts of the *Roman* Dominions, particularly *Gaul* and *Spain*, where they had overthrown several *Consuls*, in the last Battel killing 80000 *Romans* ; after which they resolv'd to pass the *Alps* into *Italy*. *Rome* began now to be in a great Consternation, and *Marius* having just vanquish'd *Jugurtha*, they made him Consul a second time, as the only Man thought able to manage so threatening a War, and to preserve the State. While they continued in *Spain*, *Marius* march'd against their Friends the *Tolosans* in *Gaul*, where King *Copilus* was taken by *Sylla* his Lieutenant. Being made Consul again the following Year, he declin'd Fighting till the Enemies Force was weaken'd by Delays. The next Year, in his fourth Consulship, the Enemy, in three several Parties, were just upon passing the *Alps* into *Italy* ; and as he attended their Motions, it happen'd that his Army was extremely afflicted with Thirst, the *Teutones* and *Ambrones* lying between them and the Water, which Necessity brought him to an Engagement with 'em ; and in two Days time, he, by his excellent Conduct, utterly destroy'd them, taking
Thou-

U. C.
650.

Theutobocchus their King Prisoner. The *Cimbri* escap'd him, and fled over into *Italy*, notwithstanding the Winter-Season, and the *Alps* cover'd with Snow, being in vain oppos'd by *Catulus*, both at the *Alps*, and at the River *Athesis*, nigh *Vorona*. The Year following *Marius* was again made Consul, and joining with *Catulus*, was challeng'd by the Enemy to give Battel. Whereupon he fell upon their numerous Army, and gave them a most dreadful Overthrow; their Wives all the while making a wonderful Resistance from the Chariots; and when they saw all things in a desperate Condition, they in a great Fury first kill'd all their Children, and after that themselves. About 140000 were slain in this Battel, and 60000 taken Prisoners, which ended this War, after it had continu'd 12 Years. *Marius* (the fifth time) and *Aquilius Nepos* being Consuls: The former was then esteemed the Preserver of his Country, and contented himself with one Triumph, when he might have had more; and his Colleague had now also finish'd the second *Servile War* in *Sicily*, which had lasted almost four Years.

Notwithstanding these Dangers abroad, the City was nor without Domestick Troubles, which were occasion'd by *Saturnius*, one of *Marius's* Friends, who having been *Quæstor* at *Ostia*, during a Famine, was turn'd out of his Place by the Senate; to revenge which Usage, he procur'd the *Tribuneship*. But after his Year was expir'd, *Metellus Numidicus*, formerly mention'd, being *Censor*, endeavour'd to remove him from the *Senate*, but was hinder'd by his Colleague. This so enrag'd him, that he stood again for the *Tribuneship*; and nine of the ten *Tribunes* being chosen by the Assistance of *Marius*, he murder'd *Nonius* his Competitor, and so obtain'd the Place. Now being once again in Power, he preferr'd a Law for the Division of such Lands as *Marius* had recovered in *Gaul*, and compell'd the *Senate* to swear to it, which Oath *Numidicus* refusing, he set him a Day to

to answer it before the People ; but for fear of him and *Marius* together, *Numidicus* fled to *Smyrna* in *Asia*. *Saturninus* procuring the Tribuneship a third time, and finding *Memmius* Candidate for the Consulship, he also caus'd him to be murder'd, to make way for *Glaucius* the *Prætor*, one of his own Party. These base and ungenerous Practices rais'd several Troubles and Commotions in the City, and the Senate resolv'd to make him answer it ; whereupon *Marius*, now a sixth time Consul, perceiving him in a declining Condition, very politickly withdrew himself from his Friendship. The Consuls were now, as in some other dangerous Times, invested with an unusual and *Dictatorian* sort of Power, the manner of conferring of which was by a Vote of the Senate, in these or the like Words, *Videant Consules ne quid detrimenti Republica accipiat*. *Marius* therefore, with his Collegue, set upon *Saturninus* in the publick Assembly, and forc'd him and his Followers into the *Capitol*, where, for want of Water, they were constrain'd to yield ; after *Marius* had given 'em his Faith for their Safety, *Saturninus* and *Glaucius* much rely'd upon *Marius*, not scrupling to give out, *That they were but the Actors and Instruments of his Designs*. But notwithstanding this Security, they were all cut in Pieces by the *Equites* in the *Forum*, who broke in among 'em ; and *Numidicus*, especially by his Son's Industry, was recall'd, with the general Applause of the People.

U. C.
654.

The Wars abroad, and the Dissentions and Corruptions at home, did not hinder Learning, for that still flourish'd more than ever, and Poetry was come almost to its highest Pitch in *Rome* ; for a little before this, flourish'd the famous *Lucretius*, an admirable Poet in his kind, and in many Particulars scarce inferior to *Virgil*. Now for the space of seven or eight Years, there was no great Action abroad, nor any open Sedition at home ; but however there was great Dissatisfaction among those of the *Senatorian* Order,

Order, by reason of the Power of Judicature, given to the *Equites* by *C. Gracchus's* Laws, which prov'd an extraordinary Grievance to them. The Commonwealth too was bought and sold; the *Publicans*, who farm'd the publick Revenues, being, as they were *Equites*, both Judges and Parties. Upon these Accounts, *Drusus* the *Tribune*, a very eminent and well-designing Person, endeavour'd to restore the Fathers to their antient Privileges and Authority, and yet not offend the *Equites*; and therefore the *Senate* being now reduced to a small Number, he prefer'd a Law, that as many *Equites* should be added to them, and that the Power of Judicature should be committed equally to all that should be then of this Body. This gave great Offence to both Parties; and *Cæpio*, also one of *Drusus's* Collegues, opposed him, and coming into the *Senate*, there accused some of the highest Rank of illegal Endeavours to gain Offices. *Drusus*, to withstand his Designs, again propos'd the *Agrarian* Law; and that the Allies and Confederates of *Italy*, the present Possessors, might not take it amiss, he gave 'em hopes of the Freedom of the City. A great Concourse of Strangers was occasion'd upon this account, and as great a Contention rais'd; where *Philippus* the Consul, for opposing the Law for dividing the Lands, was disgracefully buffeted by one of the Strangers, and violent Disturbances follow'd. *Drusus*, disappointed in this Particular, still endeavour'd to perform his Promise to the *Italians*; but going home, accompany'd with a great Multitude of People, he was stabb'd in the Court of his own House, having Breath enough to say, *That the Commonwealth could never find a Person more true to her Interest than he.*

U. C. IV. These Troubles did not end with *Drusus's*
663. Death; for soon after, a very dangerous War broke out upon this account with most of the *Italians*, call'd the *Social* or *Italian* War. These People had,
for

for some time, taken it very heinously, that they were deny'd the Freedom of the City, which had been partly promis'd them in the time of the *Gracchi*. But now *Drusus's* Death, who had very much heighten'd their Expectations, enraged them more than ever, especially when the *Equites*, immediately after, had, by Force of Arms, procured a Law for banishing all the great Persons who were not for their Interest. The *Italians* also thought that they had sufficient Reason to expect this Privilege from that City, whose Subsistence and Empire had been so much maintain'd by their Valour, they commonly sending out double the Number of Troops to those of *Rome*. Upon these Grounds they resolv'd to procure that by Force and Violence, which could not be obtain'd by Intreaties and civil Means; and thereupon they join'd together in a close Confederacy, and privately sent Messages and Hostages to each other; namely, the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Marsi*, *Peligni*, with many others, and especially the old Enemies of *Rome*, the *Samnites*, who made their Preparations with equal Diligence and Secresy.

These private Transactions being discover'd at *Rome*, tho' late enough, Spies were immediately sent out into all Quarters, to make what further Discoveries they could. One of which happening to see a young Man of *Asculum* carry'd into another City for an Hostage, thereupon acquainted *Servilius* the Proconsul, who, going to *Asculum*, and reprimanding the Citizens of that Place, was set upon and slain, together with all the *Romans*. Their Designs being now wholly discover'd, for their greater Security they all broke out into an open Rebellion: However, first they thought it most convenient to send to *Rome* to complain; but their Messengers could not be admitted without Satisfaction and Repentance for what they had already done. Whereupon the War was committed to both the Consuls, together with *Marius* and *Sylla*, and several others who

who had *Proconsular* Authority, the Forces on either Side amounting to about 100000 fighting Men. The War was very dangerous and destructive, and *Rutilus* the Consul in a short time lost his Life, falling into an Ambuscade laid by the *Marfi*; and the *Romans* receiv'd many terrible Blows, so that they were constrain'd to list many who had been Slaves. The Bodies of the Consuls, and several others, being carried into the City, so discourag'd the People, that the *Senate* made a Decree, that henceforward the Bodies of the Slain should be bury'd where they dy'd, which, as a prudent Example, was likewise follow'd by the Enemy. After the Death of *Rutilus*, his Army was committed to *Marius* his Lieutenant, and *Cæpio*, who acted in Conjunction with him. *Cæpio* was slain not long after in an Ambuscade laid by *Popedius*, one of the *Italian* Generals; so *Marius* had his Desire of Commanding alone, and did excellent Service, as likewise did *Sylla* the same Year.

For the following Year, *Pompeius Strabo*, Father to *Pompey* the Great, and *Porcius Cato*, were made *Consuls*, and now the *Senate* thought fit to give the Freedom of the City to such of the *Italians* as had not revolted, which much establish'd those who were somewhat wavering in their Minds, and abated the Courage of the other already engag'd: Yet these were not chosen into any of the 35 *Tribes*, but were plac'd by themselves behind all, so that in voting they could not hinder the rest, which afterwards caus'd some Disturbance. *Cato* the Consul did very good Service this Campaign, which swell'd him with such an Opinion of himself, that he boasted himself equal to *Marius*, for which he was slain by *Marius's* Son, in the midst of a Battel against the *Marfi*. His Colleague *Pompey* overthrew the *Picentes* and *Asculani*; and having long besieg'd *Asculum*, he defeated the Enemy which sally'd out upon him; he likewise kill'd 18000 of the *Marfi*, taking 3000 Prisoners. And at last possessing

seizing himself of *Asculum*, he caus'd all the Officers and principal Men in the City, to be first scourg'd, and then beheaded. *Sylla* also perform'd many great Actions, overthrowing the *Samnites*, and storming two of their Camps; which Success so elevated him, that he immediately stood for the Consulship, and obtain'd it, having the Honour likewise of finishing this dangerous War, nigh three Years after it was begun; a War so destructive, that it consum'd above 300000 of the Youth of *Italy*, according to *Paterculus*. This War was ended with a Disturbance in the City about Usury, and the unexpected Privileges of the conquer'd *Italians*, who had the Freedom of the City given 'em, just as the others had a short time before: and so all things were happily quieted.

V. But Quiet and Peace was too great a Happiness for *Rome* at this time; for the *Social* War was scarce finish'd, when two others broke out, one the Cause of the other. The first was with *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, in *Asia Minor*, a Prince famous for his Knowledge and Learning, mighty in Riches and Power, of a boundless Ambition, and a Former of vast Designs. This King, by several Actions, had gain'd the Enmity of *Rome*, particularly by procuring *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, to declare against the *Roman* State, and by his over-running his Neighbours, the *Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphilians*, and other Allies of *Rome*. And which was more provoking than all the rest, he had taken *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, the latter of which he kill'd, by pouring melted Gold down his Throat, continually upbraiding the *Romans* with Avarice and Corruption. Upon all these Accounts, the *Romans* proclaim'd War against him; and *Sylla* and *Pompeius Rufus* being Consuls, it fell to the former's share to undertake it. But *Sylla* having not yet quite finish'd the *Social* War, *Marius* stirr'd by the desire either of Profit or of Honour, persuaded *Sul-*

U. C.
666.

picius, Tribune of the People, to prefer a Law for transferring the Management of this War from *Sylla* to him. He made what Parties he could, and drew the People of *Italy* to his side, who had lately been made free of the City, by promising 'em equal Privileges with those in the 35 Tribes, which as yet they wanted ; so that Matters were carry'd on with violent Heats and Contentions; and *Pompey's* Son, and Son-in-law to *Sylla*, was kill'd in the midst of these Tumults and Disturbances.

Sylla hearing of these dangerous Commotions, hasten'd to the City, easily perswaded his Army to stand by him in all Exigencies, for they were very unwilling to have any other go on that Expedition, from which they promis'd themselves such great Advantages. His Colleague *Pompey* join'd with him, and tho' *Marius*, and *Sulpicius* the Tribune, made all possible Opposition, yet, after some Difficulty and Bloodshed, they enter'd the City, and *Marius* with his Accomplices were forc'd to betake themselves to flight ; and thus began the other War, which was the first Civil War of any Note among the Romans, as the Troubles of the *Gracchi* were the first in which there had been any Bloodshed of Note. *Sylla* did no Injury to the Citizens in general, but revers'd all that *Sulpicius* had done, regulated the Senate, procur'd *Marius*, *Sulpicius*, and ten other leading Men, to be declar'd open Enemies to their Country, made it lawful for any Person to kill them, and set their Goods to publick Sale. Shortly after this, he departed upon his Expedition against *Mithridates*, who now had very much extended his Conquests, even to the subduing a great part of *Greece* it self. *Sulpicius* was in a short time taken and put to death ; but *Marius* hid himself in the Fens of *Minturnum*, where, being discover'd, a *Gaul* was sent to kill him ; but he was so dash'd and amaz'd at the Nobleness of his Presence, that he could not perform his Order : So that *Marius* being convey'd
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out

out of that Place, escaped into *Africk*, where he was join'd by *Cethegus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, expecting a convenient Opportunity to invade their own Country. *Pompeius Rufus* the Consul, to secure *Italy*, was at the same time appointed to receive and command the Army of *Pompeius Strabo*, who had done great Service in the *Social War*, and had so far gain'd the Affections of his Men, that they finding they were like to part with their old General, stood up and slew the Consul himself; so that now there were great Dangers and Disturbances in all Parts.

Cornelius Cinna and *C. Octavius* were made Consuls for the following Year: *Cinna*, corrupted, as some are of Opinion, immediately declared himself for the new Citizens, and recall'd *Marius*, with the rest of the Exiles; which Actions were so violently opposed by his Colleague *Octavius*, that *Cinna* was by Force driven from the City, and *Merula* put in his Place. *Cinna*, upon this, going about to the *Italian People*, by giving them fresh Hopes of equal Privileges with the *Romans*, and pretending, That all his Troubles and Sufferings were purely for their sakes, obtain'd great Sums of Money. *Marius* also coming over to him shortly, they together rais'd a considerable Army, and *Cinna* march'd directly to *Rome*, and sat down before it, to the great Surprize and Terror of the Inhabitants. *Marius* at the same time march'd against *Ostia*, and took it by Force; but *Cinna*, before *Rome*, finding he was not like to carry the Place, broke up the Siege, and invested *Ariminum*, which he soon after storm'd. *Marius*, after the taking of *Ostia*, advanced with his whole Army, and posted himself upon the Hill *Janiculum*, joining to *Rome*; which again put the Inhabitants into a great Consternation, especially for that he was soon after join'd by *Cinna*. The Consuls, finding they could not recall *Sylla* from Countries so far distant, sent to *Metellus*, then lying

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with an Army in *Samnium*; but he differing with them about some Conditions, shortly after join'd himself with *Marius*: At which Time the City was nigh being betray'd by *Ap. Claudius*, a Tribune of the Army, who was invested with the Command of the *Janiculum*; but tho' he and *Cinna* broke in, they were repell'd by *Octavius*, and *Pompeius Strabo* the *Proconsul*, who was shortly after kill'd with a Thunder-bolt.

Marius, after this, took in several Towns about *Rome* where Provisions lay, and *Cinna*, by the fair Promises of Liberty, drew great Numbers of Slaves out of the City; which the Senate perceiving, dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Cinna* and *Marius*, desiring them to come into the City peaceably, and spare their own Country-men. *Cinna* refus'd to admit of any Address made to him as a private Man, so that they were forc'd to treat with him as *Consul*, and desir'd him to swear, that he wou'd shed no Blood. *Cinna* absolutely refus'd to take such an Oath; but promis'd, that knowingly and willingly he wou'd not be the Cause of any Man's Death: *Marius* stood by him, and said nothing, but gave sufficient Testimony by the Soureness of his Countenance, and the Sternness of his Looks, that he wou'd shortly fill the City with Massacres. But the better to dissemble his Rage, he at last broke Silence, telling the Ambassadors, That he was then in Exile, and banish'd his Country by course of Law; that if his Presence were necessary, they must repeal the former Act of his Banishment by a new Decree, that he might be received as a Religious Observer of the Laws, and might enter the City free from Fear or Oppression. Upon this all Matters were adjusted, and the Law for banishing *Marius*, and his Associates, abrogated.

Upon their Entrance into the City, great Plunderings and miserable Slaughters began in all Places. *Octavius* the *Consul*, tho' he had the Oath of *Cinna* and *Marius*, yet refusing to fly from his Charge, was kill'd, and his Head set upon the *Rostra*, to which
was

was added that of *M. Antonius*, Grandfather to the *Triumvir* was *Augustus*, an excellent Orator, who by the Charms of his Eloquence defended himself a considerable time against the Rage of the Soldiers, and several others. Dreadful Tumults and Out-cries were in all Places, and none were spar'd either for the Dignity of their Worths, or their Ages. The dead Bodies being barbarously mangled, and abominably abus'd, were left to be torn in pieces, and devour'd by Dogs and Fowls, none daring to bury 'em. All *Sylla's* Friends were slaughter'd without Mercy, his House demolish'd, his Goods set to Sale, and he himself judg'd and declar'd an Enemy to *Rome*. *Merula*, tho' he never fought the Consulship, and *Catullus*, having their Days set them to answer for their Lives, destroy'd themselves. *Cinna* and *Marius* having thus satiated themselves with the Blood of others, made themselves Consuls for the following Year; but *Marius* dy'd about a Month after, in the 70th Year of his Age, within less than two Years after the breaking out of this Civil War, being a noble Soldier, and a brave Commander, but much more serviceable to his Country in the time of War than in Peace, and the only Person who had the Honour of the Consulship seven times.

VI. In the time of these unhappy Troubles at home, *Sylla* perform'd many noble Exploits against *Mithridates*, who not long before his Arrival had commanded in one Day 80000, some say 150000 *Romans* and *Italians* in *Asia*, to be murder'd in cold Blood. *Sylla* first overthrew *Archeaus* his General nigh *Athens*, so effectually, that of his 120000 Men, scarce 10000 were left; then he gave him another great Defeat, recover'd *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionis*, *Asia*, and other Countries, which *Mithridates* had got into his Hands, and withal took his Fleet from him; insomuch that *Mithridates* was very willing to come to a Treaty, which *Sylla*, notwithstanding *Mithridates's* high Provocation,

cation before, was not much averse to, being in want of Money, and very desirous to return to *Italy*, and to revenge himself of those who had declared him an Enemy to *Rome*. The principal Articles of the Peace were, *That Mithridates should pay the Charges of the War, and that for the future he should be content with his Father's Kingdom* ; which were ratify'd in less than three Years after the beginning of the War. *Sylla* severely fined *Asia* for its Revolt, and settling Affairs according to the present Occasion, he return'd for *Italy*. He took *Athens* in his way, from whence he carry'd the famous Library of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, in which were most of the Books of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, then not vulgarly known. He soon after wrote to the Senate at *Rome*, recounting all his great Services he had done for the State, and how ungratefully he had been used by *Marinus's* Party ; telling them plainly, *That he was coming to revenge both himself and the Publick, by punishing the Authors of those Injuries, tho' the rest he would spare, whether they were old or new Citizens.*

The Senate extremely dreaded the Effects of *Sylla's* Return, well knowing it would be fatal to many, and even to some who had unwillingly join'd with *Marinus* ; therefore they sent to treat with him, offering all their Endeavours for his Satisfaction, if he would quickly make known his Demands. And that there might be the less Blood shed, they order'd *Cinna* to discontinue his Levies ; but he finding there was no way of supporting his Interest, but by Arms, only return'd 'em a plausible Answer, and proceeded to raise Soldiers, designing to make himself and his Colleague *Carbo* Consuls for the following Year, that there might be no necessity of returning to *Rome* for a new Election. He sent over Part of his Troops into *Dalmatia*, there to meet *Sylla* ; but those behind were driven back to *Italy* by a Storm ; after which they absolutely refused to fight against their own Countrymen ; so that all the rest, who as yet had not put to Sea, refus'd

fus'd to go on board. Hereupon *Cinna* going to speak with 'em, one of his Officers who made way before him, struck one of 'em; at which the Soldier struck him again, and being apprehended for this Crime, a great Tumult and Mutiny arose among the rest of the Men, wherein *Cinna* himself was run through: And thus perish'd, in his fourth *Consulship*, a Person worthier to have dy'd by the Command of the Conqueror, than by the Fury of the Soldiers. *Carbo* continued Consuls by himself the remaining part of the Year.

Sylla before this time had receiv'd the Senate's Proposals, and return'd for Answer, *That he would never be reconciled to such wicked Persons as Cinna and Carbo, who besides many pernicious Practices against their Country's Good, had procured War to be decreed against him, who had done it so much Service: But if the People of Rome would give 'em Indemnity, he should not oppose it; yet he thought all such as came over to him to be far more safe, since he had so considerable an Army at his devotion.* This sufficiently declaring his Intentions; he also demanding Restitution of his Estate, his antient Dignity and Honours: but the Messengers coming to *Brundisium*, and there hearing of *Cinna's* Death, and the Disturbances of the Commonwealth, return'd back to him. *Sylla* then cross'd the Sea with a Fleet of 1600 Ships, and 60000 Men, and landed at *Brundisium*, where he was join'd by *Metellus Pius*, who had retir'd from Rome for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and likewise by *Pompey*, afterward surnamed *the Great*, who from this time became *Sylla's* great Favourite. Besides these, came also *Cethegus*, who having before join'd with *Cinna*, now begg'd Pardon, and was receiv'd into Favour. *Norbanus* and *Scipio*, the present Consuls, together with *Carbo*, made all necessary Preparations for Resistance; and the first Trial at Arms was at *Canusium*, where *Norbanus* lost 6000 Men, and fled to *Capua*. His Colleague *Scipio* shortly after, through the Treachery of his Army, fell with his

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Son into the Hands of *Sylla*, who civilly dismiss'd them both. After this, *Sylla* sent to *Norbanus* to treat of Peace ; but not being thought serious, perhaps, had no Answer return'd him.

Italy now began to feel all the Desolations and Miseries of a Civil War, *Sylla* making great Devastations on one side, and *Carbo* on the other, who getting into *Rome*, procured *Metellus*, and the rest who join'd with *Sylla*, to be declared Enemies to the State. Both Parties diligently sent up and down to the *Italian* Cities, labouring by all possible Ways and Methods to procure Forces : and thus was the rest of the Summer spent, in which time the *Capitol* was burnt down, none knowing by what means it was done : this happen'd about 430 Years after it was first built. The following Year, *Carbo* a third time, and young *Marius*, the Son of the former, were made Consuls ; the latter at 27 Years of Age. In the beginning of the Campaign, *Carbo's* Lieutenant, *Carinus*, was overthrown by *Metellus*, and *Marius* himself by *Sylla*. *Marius* was driven into *Præneste*, where being closely besieged, and almost despairing of Relief, he in a great Rage wrote to *Brutus*, then *Prætor* at *Rome*, To use some Pretence to call the Senate, and then to kill the principal of them who were his Enemies ; which Order was executed with great Cruelty : So that whatsoever Side were Conquerors, *Rome* was still a miserable Sufferer. *Metellus* having by this time overthrown *Carbo* once more, and *Pompey* defeated *Marcus*, another of that Party, *Sylla* march'd directly to *Rome*, which Place he easily enter'd, great numbers of the opposite Faction being fled into the Country.

The Inhabitants of *Rome* were extremely terrify'd at *Sylla's* Entrance ; but he only put the Goods of the Persons that fled to sale, wishing the People not to be dejected, for he was obliged to act as he did : Then leaving a sufficient Garrison in the City, he departed to *Clusium*, where he and his Officers several times overthrew

threw *Carbo's* Armies. *Carbo*, being now upon the defensive, sent eight Legions to *Præneste*, to relieve his Colleague *Marius*; but they were met by *Pompey* in a narrow Passage, where he slew many of 'em, and dispers'd the rest. Soon after, *Carbo* being join'd with *Norbanus*, engaged with *Metellus*, and had 10000 of his Men slain, and 6000 yielded; whereupon great numbers went over to *Sylla's* Party, which presently became Masters of all *Gaul* on that side the *Alps*. *Norbanus* fled to *Rhodes*, where fearing to be deliver'd up, he kill'd himself; and *Carbo* fled to *Africk*, tho' he had 30000 Men at *Clusium*, besides other Forces, all which soon after were broken and dispers'd by *Pompey*. But *Carinus* and *Marcus*, with other Commanders, by the assistance of the *Samnite* Troops, endeavour'd to force the Trenches at *Præneste*, and relieve *Marius*; but finding it impracticable, they advanced to *Rome*, where meeting with *Sylla*, a most bloody Battel was fought at the very Gates, in which many thousands were slain on both Sides. But *Sylla* at last obtain'd the Victory, and *Carinus* and *Marcus* were taken, and their Heads sent to *Præneste* to be shewn to the Inhabitants, at which sorrowful Sight they surrender'd to *Lucullus*, and *Marius* kill'd himself, whose Head was set up in the Pleading-place at *Rome*. All his Faction in *Præneste*, with the Natives and *Samnites*, were put to death without Mercy; only the *Romans* escaped with their Lives, and this rich City was plunder'd. *Norba* a little after was taken, and the Inhabitants setting the Town on Fire, all destroy'd themselves, some one way, and some another: So now all *Italy* came under the Power of *Sylla*.

Sylla having been thus successful against his Enemies at home, sent *Pompey* into *Africk* against *Carbo*, and gave him charge to pass from thence into *Sicily* against others of that Party. *Pompey* in a short time drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and thence into *Corcyra*, where he took him, and caus'd his Head to be cut off, and sent to *Sylla*. But *Rome* in the mean time now severely

verely felt the dreadful Effects of Civil Contests; for *Sylla* calling the People together, told them, *That he would put 'em into a better Condition, if they were obedient to his Commands; but as for his Enemies, he was resolv'd to prosecute them with all sorts of Miseries and Calamities;* which he did with more Severity than any before him, killing and butchering many thousands after a most barbarous and inhumane manner. Eight thousand were put to death together in the *Villa Publica*, a large House in the *Campus Martius*; Men were slain in the Embraces of their Wives, Children in the Arms of their Mothers, and Liberty was given to the Soldiers to kill all they met, without distinction, till *Furfidius* a little stopp'd the Current of his Rage, by putting him in mind that he ought to leave some for *Sylla* to reign over, then publish'd Tables of *Proscription* for particular Persons, these being the first ever known in *Rome*, wherein were proscrib'd 80 *Senators*, and 1600 *Equites*, to which he afterwards added more, promising great Rewards to the Discoverers, and threatening Death to the Concealers of them. Of these outlaw'd Persons some were slain in their Houses, others in the Streets, and others prostrate at his Feet, begging their Lives; and those that fled, their Goods were seiz'd on. *Marius*, Brother to *Sylla's* great Enemy, had his Eyes first pull'd out, then his Hands and Legs cut off at several times, that he might die with the greater Torment. C *Julius Cæsar*, a young Man of wonderful promising Abilities, who had marry'd *Cinna's* Daughter, very hardly escaped the common Miseries of these Times, of whom *Sylla* was wont to say, after a prophetick manner, *That in Cæsar were many Marius's.*

Rome was not the only Sufferer in these dreadful Calamities; for this *Proscription* was carry'd throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, where the merciless Effusion of Blood was such, that neither the Temples of the Gods, nor all the Sanctuaries could afford Protection to any Man. Both the Consuls being now destroy'd,

Sylla

Sylla withdrew himself from the City, and order'd the Senate to create an *Inter-Rex*; which they most willingly did, naming *Valerius Flaccus*. He wrote to him to ask the People, that since Affairs were yet much unsettled, a *Dictator* might be created, and that not for any limited Time, but till all publick Evils and Grievances should be redress'd, not forgetting to mention himself. This the People were constrain'd to yield to, he having then all the Power in his own Hands; and so this Office, which had been intermitted for 120 Years, was conferr'd on him without any Limitation of Time. And thus ended the first Civil War in *Italy*, tho' not in all other Places, about six Years after it began, and four after the first *Marius's* Death, in the 672d Year of the City, in the third Year of the 174th *Olympiad*, 427 Years since the Beginning of the *Consular State*, 248 since the setting up of the *Macedonian* Empire, and 80 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. XIV.

From the Perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla, to the first Triumvirate, namely, that of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; which proved the Ruin of the Consular State, and the first Step to the setting up the Imperial.

Containing the Space of 22 Years.

THE Government of *Rome* was now for some *Dic. lxxi.*
 Space changed to a Monarchy, *Sylla's* Power *Perpetual.*
 being unlimited as to Time; and tho' to keep up a *U. C.*
 Shew of a Commonwealth, he permitted *Consuls* to *672.*
 be made, yet he plainly reign'd alone, having 24 *Li-*
ctors with their *Fasces* and *Axes*, and a great Guard
 constantly to attend his Person, as the Kings in for-
 mer Times had, and repealing old Laws, and enacting
 new

new at his Pleasure. He regulated the Consulship, ordering that none should be capable of it without first passing thro' other Offices. He remov'd that Plague to the Senate, the *Tribuneship*, by making those who bore it incapable of any other Trust. He added 300 of the *Equites* to the Senate, and likewise 10000 of the Slaves of the *Proscribed* to the People, making 'em Free, and calling 'em *Cornelii*, according to his own Name; and he assign'd great Quantities of Land to 23 Legions, the better to secure and bind 'em to his Interest. This was the first Year of *Sylla's* Reign, in which the War broke out again with *Mithridates*, about three Years after the first, occasion'd by *Murena*, whom *Sylla* had left behind him in *Asia*. This Person being extraordinary ambitious of a Triumph, found an Opportunity of making a Breach with *Mithridates*, contrary to the Senate's Designs; but as it prov'd, he only procur'd himself an Overthrow, and *Mithridates* a Peace not long after, which finish'd the second War with that Prince, having lasted above two Years.

In the second Year of *Sylla's* Office he again made Consuls, but join'd himself with *Cæcilius Metellus*, he being one, which Course the Emperors afterwards imitated. The Year after, when the People design'd him Consul again, he declin'd it, and chose two others; and then, to the great Surprize and Wonder of all Men, he laid down his *Dictatorship* in the third Year of his Office; and what was more surprising, tho' he had done so many cruel and wicked Acts, he, like a Man perfectly just and innocent, freely offer'd to give an Account of all his Management and Proceedings. Yet we find none accus'd him but one young Man, whose scurrilous Language to him, made him say, *That such coarse Usage for the future wou'd keep any Man from laying down an Office of such Supreme Authority;* which *Julius Cæsar* afterwards seem'd to have been aware of. Not long after he retir'd himself into the Country, where following nothing but his Pleasure,

he dy'd in a short time at *Puteoli*, his Body being putrefy'd, and all turn'd into Lice. This was the End of *Cornelius Sylla*; and as his Life was very pernicious to his Country, so was his Death extremely troublesome to it, the two Consuls and their Factions falling out about the Honours design'd for him at his Funeral. *Catullus* prevailing against his Colleague *Lepidus*, his Body was carry'd in great Pomp and State through the City, and was the first in *Rome* that was burnt, to prevent being treated as *Marius* before had been, whose Bones *Sylla* himself had order'd to be digg'd up and thrown away.

After this, the Consuls fell into greater Dissensions about the Lands given away by *Sylla*, which *Lepidus* was for returning to the former Possessors. The Senate being very fearful of another War, made 'em both swear, *Not to decide the Controversy by the Sword*. But *Lepidus* resolv'd not to return out of his Province, till the new Election of Consuls was over, and then to begin a War, thinking himself discharg'd from his Oath when he was out of his Office. Hereupon the Senate sent for him, and at his Return, he offer'd to bring his Troops into the City; but being oppos'd by *Catullus* and *Pompey*, a Battel ensu'd, wherein he was overthrown, and fleeing to *Sardinia*, he dy'd the same Year with *Sylla*. This was not the End of all these Troubles, for a more dangerous War was still depending in *Spain* against *Q. Sertorius*, an admirable expert Commander of *Cinna's* Faction, who had driven out all *Sylla's* Party from *Spain*, and had chosen 300 of his Friends, whom he call'd a Senate, in Opposition to that of *Rome*. *Sertorius* having join'd with the *Celtiberians*, had before been successful against *Metellus*; and now being reinforc'd with part of *Lepidus's* Army, brought over by *Perpenna*, he design'd no less than the Invasion of *Italy*. The Senate, apprehensive of his threatening Danger, sent *Pompey* against him, who for his great *Exploits* in *Africk* and
Sicily

Sicily had already triumph'd, tho' scarce 26 Years of Age, and neither *Consul* nor *Prætor*. *Pompey*, in Imitation of *Hannibal*, pass'd the *Alps*, tho' a contrary Way, but with no Success against *Sertorius*, either then or in the next Spring: And tho' *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were several times worsted by *Metellus*, yet *Sertorius*, by his extraordinary Management, reduced *Pompey* to great Extremities, insomuch that he was obliged to send to *Rome* for Supplies; which after he had received, he attack'd several Places subject to *Sertorius*, yet perform'd nothing of Consequence this Year.

The following Year, *Pompey* and *Metellus* being much strengthen'd, made Incursions into several Parts, and with more Success than formerly; yet no considerable Battel was fought. And indeed there needed none, since *Sertorius* fell away insensibly, by disobliging his chief Soldiers in preferring the *Celtiberians* for his Guard; but more especially by his degenerating into a lazy and debauch'd, as well as cruel Temper, putting many to death with little Reason or Justice. And now *Perpenna* fearing it might fall to his Lot to be destroy'd among the rest, resolv'd to prevent it, and thereupon inviting him to a sumptuous Feast, first made him and his Companions very drunk, and then murder'd him; which was a very inglorious End for so great a Soldier, who had stoutly and bravely resisted all that had been sent against him, and had been admired by the *Spaniards* as another *Hannibal*. *Perpenna* with much difficulty obtain'd his Command from his Army, but not long after was overthrown in Battel, and taken Prisoner by *Pompey*. He offer'd to disclose to *Pompey* in private some Matters of the highest Consequence, if he would spare his Life; but *Pompey* with great Policy and Discretion, commanded him to be executed immediately, and all his Papers to be burnt, lest his Accusations should bring the State into further Troubles, of which it had felt too severely already. Thus ended all the
Civil

Civil Wars, in the 680th Year of the City, 15 Years after they first began, and 9 after it ended in *Italy*, in the Consulship of *Terentius Varro* and *Cassius Varus*, the former being a Person of wonderful Knowledge, and one of the most learned Men that ever *Rome* produc'd, in whose Time Learning was in many respects at the highest Pitch in the State.

II. But the Year before, a third War broke out with *Mithridates*, who now had join'd himself with *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and gather'd together an Army of divers Countries, consisting of 140000 Foot, and 16000 Horse, by which he in a short time possess'd himself of all *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes* the late King had given by his Will to the Romans. *Lucinius Lucullus* and *Aurelius Cotta* being Consuls, the former, a brave General, was sent against *Mithridates*. He found the King before *Cyzicus*, a City of *Propontis*, where he placed his Men with so much Skill, as to besiege the Besieger, and reduc'd *Mithridates* to such Extremities, that thro' Famine he was forc'd first to send away his Cavalry and sick Men into *Bithynia*, whereof 15000 were intercepted, and then to retire himself with the rest that could escape the great Slaughter which the Romans made in the Flight. During the Time of this double Siege, *Eumachus*, one of *Mithridates's* Commanders, made Inroads into *Phrygia*, subdu'd *Pisidia* and *Isauria*, and endeavour'd to do the like to *Cilicia*, till he was repuls'd by *Deiotarus*, one of the Governors of *Galatia*. But *Lucullus* improv'd his Success by Land, by gaining many Victories at Sea, where he took several of *Mithridates's* Commanders, and closely pursu'd the King himself. *Mithridates* flying with more Speed than Discretion, had been cast away, but that he was receiv'd into a *Pirate's* Vessel, to which he was glad to commit himself in so great a Danger, and at length, after many Difficulties, got into his own Kingdom, whither *Lucullus* pursu'd him,

U. C.
680.

him, having taken in all *Bithynia*, and *Paphlagonia* in his Way ; and this was the first Year's Expedition.

Mithridates made all possible Preparations for Resistance, sending to *Tigranes* and others for Aid ; and within the space of a Year he got together 40000 Foot and 4000 Horse, with which he once or twice gain'd some Advantage over the *Romans*, and struck some Terror into the Soldiers. But *Lucullus* found means to cut off most of his Cavalry, which, with the Loss of a Battel, soon after so terrify'd him, that he quitted his Kingdom, and fled into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who entertain'd him like a King, but refused to admit him to his Presence. All *Pontus*, except a few Places, yielded to *Lucullus* in a short space ; and *Machares* King of *Bosphorus*, sent this General a Crown of Gold, by which he purchas'd the Title of his Friend and Ally. This was the fourth Year of his Expedition, in which Year also was happily finish'd the War with *Spartacus* the Gladiator in *Italy*. This Person, with seventy-four of his Companions, having broken out of their Fencing-School at *Capua*, fled away ; and wandering through all the Country round, and vastly increasing in their Numbers, commenced a dangerous War in *Italy*. They at last had gather'd together an Army of about 70000 Men, most Vagabonds, and such kind of People, and all Pretenders to *Liberty*, and had besides overthrown many of the *Roman* Commanders, and two of their Consuls ; till at last they were conquer'd and dispers'd by *Licinius Crassus* the Proconsul in *Apulia*, a Person of great Nobility and Riches, and after many Troubles and Calamities in *Italy*, the War was ended in the third Year by him. About the same time a *Lustrum* being perform'd in *Rome*, 450000 Free Citizens were poll'd, the City still increasing in Bulk and People, and the Inhabitants in Learning and Politeness, as well as Corruption and Factions.

U. C. *Lucullus* having still the Management of the War
684. against *Mithridates*, follow'd him into *Armenia*, send-
ing

ing to *Tigranes* King of that Country, to demand him. *Tigranes* was a very powerful Monarch, having lately conquer'd several Nations and Kings, which made him so intolerably proud, that when he rode abroad, he would have four of his subdu'd Kings run by his side like Lacqueys, and when he sat on his Throne, to stand before him with folded Hands in token of Subjection. *Tigranes* being now abroad in reducing *Phœnicia*, *Lucullus's* Messenger found Opportunity to draw over many to his side, who had been much dissatisfy'd at his proud and insulting Carriage. *Tigranes* at his Return refus'd to deliver up *Mithridates*, and likewise to acknowledge *Lucullus* as a General, because he had not given him the Title of *King of Kings*. Whereupon *Lucullus* suddenly pass'd the River *Euphrates* with two Legions, and about 3000 Horse, which did not a little surprize *Tigranes*, who first hang'd the Messenger of the News as a Disturber of the Peace, and soon after sent *Mithrobarzanes* with 2000 Horse to incommode his Passage, leaving *Mancæus* to cover the City *Tigranocerta*, which he had lately built, and went himself to levy Forces. While he was drawing together a vast Army of 250000 Foot, and 50000 Horse against the Romans, *Mithrobarzanes* was repell'd, and *Mancæus* driven from the Cover of the City, and the Place immediately invested. *Mithridates* upon this, advis'd him not to hazard all in a Battel, but rather to starve the Romans; but he slighted his Motion, and contemn'd the Smallness of their Numbers, saying, *That if the Romans were all Ambassadors, they were a great many; but if Soldiers, very few; pretending to over-run 'em with great Facility.* But *Lucullus* posting himself upon a Hill, sent his Cavalry to provoke and draw out the Enemy, so as he might break their Ranks, and then setting upon the Carriage-Beasts, so successfully caus'd 'em to drive their Foot among their Horse, that great Confusion follow'd, and a dreadful Slaughter continu'd all the

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Day;

Day; and *Trigranocerta* was surrender'd by means of certain dissatisfy'd *Greeks* in the Place.

After these Defeats, another great Army was rais'd, and committed to the Conduct of *Mithridates*: They both endeavour'd to hem in *Lucullus*, but were disappointed in their Design by his extraordinary Vigilancy; and thus both sides continu'd with little Action, till want of Provisions constrain'd 'em to remove, *Tigranes* marching farther into his Kingdom, and *Mithridates* into his, with *Lucullus* not far behind him. *Fabius*, who had been left in *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, was overthrown by *Mithridates*, and after him *Triarius*, who imprudently engag'd with him, and lost 7000 of his Men. Soon after *Mithridates* taking with him all the Necessaries he cou'd carry, and destroying the rest, march'd into the lesser *Armenia*. *Lucullus* wou'd gladly have follow'd him, and might have put an end to the War, but that now *Acilius Glabrio*, this Year's Consul, by *Glabrius* the *Tribune's* Procurement, was appointed to carry it on in his Place. This being known in the Army, *Lucullus* was slighted by his Men, and *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* began to be more successful than formerly. In a short time, *Glabrio* arriv'd at his Province, and sent about to give notice, That the Senate being displeas'd with *Lucullus* for prolonging the War, had disbanded his Army, and would confiscate the Estates of such as shou'd disobey its Order. Upon which all his Army abandon'd him, except some few poor Men, who had no great Cause to fear any Loss of Estates; and *Lucullus* being out of his Command, *Mithridates* recover'd almost all his Kingdom, and did much Damage to *Cappadocia*, *Glabrio* not so much as coming to his Army, but lying idle in *Bithynia*. This happen'd in the seventh Year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the War.

U. C. III. About this time, *Pompey* began to come into
654. great Esteem among the Romans, having now a new
Occasion

Occasion of shewing his great Abilities in War, which was this: The Pirates, who had been first employ'd by *Mithridates*, finding their Profit so great, had now got together many Thousands of several Nations, making choice of *Cilicia* for their Rendezvous; and seeing that the War continu'd, they thought it more Wisdom to damnify others, than lose their own Estates. They were now grown so numerous and powerful, that there was no secure passing the Seas, nor dwelling upon the Coasts; for they not only took and robb'd Ships by Sea, but also whole Provinces on the Land. They had likewise defeated several *Roman Prators*, and were grown so impudent, that they landed in *Italy* itself, carry'd away several Women of Quality, and more than that, two Armies with their Ensigns. These great Affronts very much enrag'd the People of *Rome*, and a Law was preferr'd by *Gabinus* the Tribune, That some Person should be created Admiral, with full Power against the Pirates for three Years, who shou'd have large Forces, and many Lieutenants. This Law did not please the Senate, who now began to grow jealous of *Pompey's* Power; for to him was the Affair committed, and he had full Power given him over all Persons upon the Sea, and fifty Miles distant, whether Kings or others, to oblige them to assist him in his Enterprize. The Senate also permitted him to chuse fifteen Lieutenants out of their Body, to take 200 Ships, and raise what Men he cou'd: But he obtain'd greater Advantage of the People, namely 500 Ships, 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, 6000 Attick Talents, and the Power of appointing 25 Vicegerents out of the Senate, and two *Quæstors*; so difficult it appear'd to destroy such numerous Fleets as the Pirates had, in a Sea that had so many Places of Retreat and Refuge.

Pompey with great Skill and Judgment distributed his Lieutenants through the several Bays, Havens, Streights and Windings of the *Mediterranean* Sea, furnishing

furnishing them with convenient Shipping and Forces ; that so the Pirates being rouz'd out of their lurking Holes by some, might be receiv'd by others, and chas'd by the next, and none might be oblig'd to sail too far ; while he himself, like a King of so many Kings, sail'd up and down, observing, visiting, directing, instructing, and overseeing with that singular Art and Diligence, that in forty Days he scour'd all the Seas about *Africk*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Sicily* ; and all the Pirates that escap'd, flock'd to *Cilicia* as their common Receptacle. He soon follow'd 'em with 60 Galleys ; and tho' they had prepar'd themselves to give him Battel, yet upon the sight of his Fleet they submitted to his Mercy ; and so much had the Greatness of his Name terrify'd them, that in forty Days more he reduc'd *Cilicia* to the *Roman* Obedience. Such of these Pirates as remain'd, being above 20000, he was unwilling to kill, and to let 'em return to their old Habitations was not safe : Therefore he remov'd 'em to Places farther distant from the Sea, where he gave 'em Lands and Houses, furnishing their Seats with new Inhabitants. Thus, after the taking of nigh 400 Ships, and 120 Forts, and the killing of 10000 Men, he finish'd the War in three or four Months, using the Conquer'd with more Clemency than *Q. Metellus* did those in *Crete*, which he subdu'd, and thereby obtain'd, besides a Triumph, the Surname of *Creticus*.

This Expedition still added much to *Pompey's* Reputation ; and it was scarce at an end, when *Manilius* the *Tribune* preferr'd a Law, That all the Armies the Romans had in any Place, together with the Government of all Asia, and the Management of the War against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, might be committed to him alone. This he did to curry favour with so great a Man as *Pompey*, whom he had displeas'd not long before, by a Law of his, which gave equal Privileges to freed Slaves with their Masters that made 'em so. The Nobility

Nobility were extremely dissatisfy'd at this new Law, not only for the manifest Injury done to *Lucullus* and *Glabrio*, by removing them from their Places, but also out of a high Jealousy of *Pompey's* growing Greatness, as being in a manner absolute Monarch of the *Roman* Empire, by having these Provinces added to his former, with the same Power of Peace and War; and which was more than all the rest, a Jurisdiction over all Armies whatsoever; which Things had never before been conferr'd upon any one single Person.

But the Commons were very hot for the Law, being much incited by *Cicero*, the renown'd Orator, now *Prætor*, who in a publick Assembly made a noble Oration in Commendation of *Pompey*, shewing not only how very convenient it was for the Good of the Commonwealth to have a General with so large a Power; but likewise how absolutely necessary it was to chuse him above all other Men in the World, as being incomparably eminent for those four great Accomplishments requir'd in an absolute Soldier, Conduct, Courage, Authority and Success, which had all been abundantly apparent in those numerous and wonderful Exploits he had already perform'd in so many Parts of the World. This had so good an Effect, that when the Law came to the Scrutiny, it pass'd with little Opposition; and *C. Julius Caesar*, lately *Quæstor*, is said to have likewise favour'd it, chiefly with Design, that afterwards the People might be the more inclin'd to commit the like extraordinary Power to himself.

U. C.
688.

Pompey having made what Preparations he thought convenient, in a short time undertook his Expedition, in which he propos'd great Honour and Renown to himself. Yet he first sent to *Mithridates*, offering him good and reasonable Terms, which the other refus'd in Expectation of the Assistance of *Phraates* King of *Parthia*; but hearing that a League was made between him and the *Romans*, he shortly after sent to desire a Peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down his Arms, and deliver up all Deserters; which occasioned

ned such a dangerous Disturbance and Mutiny in *Mithridates's* Army, that he immediately receded, saying, *He only sent to make an Espial*, and evading the Articles, by swearing, *That he wou'd never be reconcil'd to the Romans, because of their insatiable Avarice.* *Pompey* marching into *Galatia*, there met with *Lucullus*, and a violent Contest was rais'd between 'em. The latter affirm'd the War to be already finish'd, and that the Commissioners from *Rome* were to decide it; and when *Pompey* wou'd not hearken to this, he upbraided him with an unjust Ambition, *Pompey* retorting the Charge of immoderate Desire of Gain upon *Lucullus*. *Lucullus* still gave out Commands in his own Name; but *Pompey*, by his Edicts, forbad 'em, null'd all his Acts, and at last drew away the greater Part of his Army. Yet *Lucullus* at his Return was receiv'd with great Honour by the Senate, carrying with him among his great Booty many valuable Books, with which he furnish'd a Library that always stood open, to *Greeks* especially. He much advanc'd the *Roman* Luxury as to Buildings, Furniture of Houses, and excessive Feasts, and also was the first that brought the Cherry-Tree out of *Pontus* into *Italy*.

Mithridates had now gather'd together a very considerable and numerous Army; and *Pompey* finding how he had wasted all the Country to hinder the Subsistence of his Army, march'd into the lesser *Armenia*, subject to *Mithridates*, who fearing he might become Master of that Country, follow'd him thither. Here *Mithridates* was in hopes to starve him, but was disappointed with considerable Loss, and to his great Surprise was surrounded by *Pompey* with an Intrenchment of above eighteen Miles in Circuit. Whereupon hearing that *Marcus* was join'd *Pompey*, he betook himself to flight, having first kill'd all such as were sick and useless about him. But *Pompey* pursu'd him so close, that before he could pass the River *Euphrates*, he forc'd him to an Engagement in the Night.

The

The Moon being very low, and on the Backs of the *Romans*, so lengthen'd their Shadows, that the *Enemies* thinking 'em nigher than really they were, shot most of their Arrows without doing Execution. Here *Mithridates* lost many Thousands of Men; but he himself broke through with 800 Horse, of which only 300 stay'd with him. Then sorrowfully wandring through the Woods with his Horse in his Hand, he accidentally met with some Mercenaries, and about 3000 Foot, by whose Assistance he was convey'd into a Castle where he had laid up much Treasure. From hence he sent to *Tigranes*, who now refus'd to receive him, alledging that his Son upon his Account had rebelled against him. Whereupon *Mithridates* fled to *Colchis*, which he had formerly conquer'd, and *Pompey* follow'd him, thinking he wou'd not have stirr'd thence; but he immediately pass'd into *Scythia*, where, partly by Force, and partly by Persuasions, he oblig'd the Princes of that Country to be of his Party, bestowing his Daughters in Marriage upon some of 'em, having still vast Designs in his Mind, even of passing thro' *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Pannonia*, and so over the *Alps* into *Italy* itself.

Pompey in a short time left *Colchis*, and getting clear of the Ambuscades laid for him by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, directed his March to *Armenia* against *Tigranes*, who now resolv'd not to fight, upon the Account of the Rebellion of his three Sons he had by *Mithridates's* Daughter, two of which he had executed, and the third after an Overthrow had fled to *Pompey*. *Tigranes's* Ambassadors coming to desire a Peace, this Son so far prevail'd, that they could not be heard. Shortly after *Pompey* invested the City *Artaxata*, which *Tigranes* immediately surrender'd, and shortly after came himself into *Pompey's* Camp, making him Mediator between him and his Son, who wou'd not so much as arise up to his Father, or shew him any Respect whatsoever. But *Pompey* receiv'd

him with extraordinary Civility, allowing him the greatest part of his former Dominions, and his Son the rest; but took away all his Conquests, and fin'd him 6000 Talents of Silver for the Charge of the War. *Tigranes* was by these Articles oblig'd to quit many conquer'd Territories, particularly all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and *Euphrates* to the Sea; but his Son was still very refractory, refusing Obedience, and threatening the Death of his Father, for which he was shut up in Prison by *Pompey*, and reserv'd for a Triumph; and not long afterwards he was put to Death. *Tigranes* being now reconcil'd to the *Romans*, paid more than his Fine, and made Presents to every Officer and Soldier, for which he was esteem'd a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*. *Pompey* restor'd *Coppadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, giving him also *Gordiena* and *Sophena*, with *Cabala* a City of *Cilicia*, and other Places; after which, with some Opposition, he constrain'd the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg Peace.

U. C.
689.

Thus prosperous was this great Commander, who still design'd larger and more glorious Conquests; and therefore passing over the vast Mount *Taurus*, he march'd against *Darius* the *Median*, and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, for molesting the *Roman* Allies, or assisting their Enemies. Whereupon *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, who had been call'd into *Gordiena* by *Tigranes*'s Son, terrify'd at his great Exploits, sent to beg Peace of him, which he granted not, but sent *Afraneus* into *Gordiena*, to expel his Forces, and restore that Country to *Tigranes*. *Phraates* upon this invading *Armenia*, *Tigranes* sent to *Pompey* for Succour, who being unwilling to commence a War with *Phraates* without positive Orders from *Rome*, sent three Commissioners to make an Accommodation. But for *Antiochus*, to whom *Lucullus* had granted *Syria* for his Inheritance, he first intended to betake himself to the Assistance of *Phraates*; but upon mature Deliberation, he resolved to yield himself to *Pompey*'s Generosity. But *Pompey* having

now

now possess'd himself of all his Country without Resistance, refus'd to grant him what he expected, and what he knew he was unable to keep from the Incurfions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* on both sides of him. And the better to excuse himself, told him, *That since the Romans had been at such Charges and Pains to conquer Tigranes, it wou'd be unreasonable that the Reward shou'd fall to another.* Therefore he only allow'd him that Part of *Syria* call'd *Comagena*; and in a short time after, extending his Conquests farther over the *Ituraens* and *Arabians*, he reduc'd all *Syria* into a *Roman Province*.

The time that *Pompey* was proceeding in these successful Expeditions, *Mithridates* sent to him to desire Peace; but being order'd to come to him himself, he refus'd it, and proceeded in his Preparations for War: After which many of his Places revolted, and many of his Friends, with one of his Sons, were executed upon that account. Yet still he design'd to pass into *Europe*, there to join with the *Gauls*, and invade *Italy*; but the Unwillingness of his Soldiers to this difficult Expedition, and the rebellious Designs of his Son *Pharnaces*, caus'd his Army's Revolt and his Ruin, his Son being shortly after saluted King. *Mithridates*, now under Confinement, seeing this from an upper Room, sent to his Son to ask Leave to depart, but in vain, who bidding his Father *die*, he cry'd out with many bitter Imprecations, *That he might one Day hear the same Words from his own Children!* Then coming down to his Wives, Daughters, and Concubines, he gave 'em all Poison, and fearing to be deliver'd up to the *Romans*, he took some himself; but having much us'd his Body to Antidotes, particularly to that sort which still goes by his Name, the Poison wou'd not operate, whereupon he wounded himself; but that not dispatching him soon enough, he call'd to one *Bitæus* a *Gaul*, who got in through the broken Wall; and by his Hands he dy'd. Thus
fell

fell *Mithridates*, a Man who, sometimes in Fortune, and at all times in Courage, was of the highest Rank ; in Direction a skilful Commander, in Execution a great Soldier, and in Hatred to the *Romans* a second *Hannibal*, having made longer Opposition than he. And thus ended the *Mithridatick* War, after twenty five Years, and eleven since it last broke out ; a War, which in the beginning happen'd to be dangerous to the *Roman* State, as creating other Mischiefs, but in the end prov'd very glorious and advantageous to it, by the addition not only of all *Mithridates's* Dominions, but likewise of many other rich Countries in *Asia*.

Pompey, when the News of *Mithridates's* Death was brought to him, was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jerusalem* against *Aristobulus* King of *Judaea*, who had depos'd his elder Brother *Hyrcaus*, and usurp'd his Kingdom. *Hyrcaus* complain'd of his Brother to *Pompey* at *Damascus*, who likewise came thither to vindicate himself. *Pompey* treated 'em both very civilly, promising 'em to come into their Country, and settle Matters between 'em, after he had dispatch'd some other necessary Affairs. Having therefore in a short time settled the Affair of *Syria*, and reduc'd *Pontus* into a *Roman* Province, he return'd to *Judaea*, being much incens'd against *Aristobulus*. He first cited him to appear before him, and deliver up all his fortify'd Places, which he did with much Regret and Anger, withdrawing himself to *Jerusalem*, to make Preparations for a War. *Pompey* suspecting his Designs, immediately march'd after him, which *Aristobulus* understanding, went out to meet him ; and tho' the City was enter'd without Opposition, his Soldiers fortify'd the Temple, and held it out against *Pompey*, which caus'd *Aristobulus* to be taken into Custody. The Temple being very strong by Situation, made a vigorous Defence ; but after three Months Siege, was with much Difficulty and Labour taken, and 12000 of the *Jews* cut in pieces,

pieces, the Priests not neglecting to offer Sacrifices all that time. *Pompey*, without any Fear, enter'd the *Holy of Holies* with many Followers, looking on those Things which were unlawful for any but the Priests to behold; however, he shew'd so much Veneration for the Place, that he forbore touching any thing that was there. He restor'd *Hyrcaus* to his Priesthood and Government, but with a Command never to wear a Diadem, and took *Aristobulus* with him, making all *Judaea* tributary to *Rome*. This happen'd in the third Year of his Expedition, and 61 Years before our Saviour's Nativity.

IV. While *Pompey* thus proceeded in his noble Exploits abroad, *Rome* itself was in great Hazard, and very nigh its Ruin, occasion'd by one of the most dangerous Conspiracies that had been ever known in the City. It was begun and carry'd on by *Sergius Catiline*, a *Patrician* by Descent, but of a very profligate Life; a Person daring in his Attempts, crafty in his Designs, greedy of other Men's Properties, prodigal of his own; one, who had been accus'd of debauching a *Vestal* Virgin, and suspected of murdering his Son for the Love of another Woman. This Person having contracted vast Debts by the Looseness of his Life, grew desperate, and sought for nothing but Power and Authority, and if it were possible the Sovereignty over all; but his Designs being suspected, he twice receiv'd a Repulse in standing for the Consulship. This last time it was carry'd from him by *Cicero*, whom he therefore scurrilously abus'd as an Upstart and Foreigner, as being but of the *Equestrian* Order, and born in *Apulia*, and offer'd to kill him in the *Comitia*. The missing of his Designs drove him into the utmost Rage and Fury, and brought him into that Plot, in which he had formerly been engag'd with *Piso*, for the Destruction of his Country. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, who before had miss'd of the Consulship for want of

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competent

competent Bribes also join'd with him, and afresh plotted the Ruin of the *Consuls* and *Senate*, the Burning of the City, and Overthrow of the State; as likewise did *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other inferior Persons of debauch'd and infamous Lives. *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* were both *Prætors*; and the latter, who formerly had been *Consul*, was mov'd to this Design by a vain Confidence he had in the *Sibylline Oracles*, which he said portended, *That the Sovereign Power shou'd be in the Hands of the Cornelii, namely, Sylla, Cinna, and himself.*

This Conspiracy was carry'd on with the greatest Secresy imaginable, their Numbers daily increasing, among which were several Women, who by prostituting themselves had been maintain'd after a prodigious rate; but afterwards decay of Beauty limiting their Gains, tho' not their Luxury, had greatly run them in Debt. Notwithstanding all their Care of concealing this horrid Design, it was discover'd by the means of *Q. Curius*, one of the Plotters, a degraded *Senator*, who neither cou'd contain the Secrets he had heard, nor the Crimes he had committed; but imprudently relating all to one *Fulvia* his Courtesan, she discover'd it to *Cicero*, who was now *Consul*. *Cicero*, by examining of these two, found out the whole Matter, how often, and where they met, and what Designs they had in hand, particularly his own Destruction to be brought about by *Vasgunteius* a *Senator*, and *Cornelius* a *Knight*, under Pretence of a friendly Visit. *Cicero*, with great Diligence and Care, appointed Guards in several Parts of the City, and immediately after call'd the *Senate* to the Temple of *Concord*, to consult what was best to be done in this time of Danger. Great Rewards were promis'd to any who shou'd make any farther Discovery of this black Conspiracy, and the whole City was in a great Consternation, all in a Hurry, all in a Fear, not knowing whom to trust, or where to be secure, either in War or Peace; but every one measuring his Danger by his Fears.

The

The Senate being now assembled, *Catiline*, to shew how well he cou'd dissemble, or to justify himself, went boldly thither; but none of the Senators wou'd come near him, the Place where he sat being wholly void. Whereupon *Cicero*, either dreading his Presence, or incens'd at his Boldness, stood up, and made a severe invective Speech against him, openly manifesting his Crimes, which were both numerous and notorious, and saying, *Did that most honourable Person Scipio Nasica slay his own Kinsman Tib. Gracchus for a slight Disturbance of the City; and shall we, Consuls, tamely suffer a Person endeavouring to lay the World desolate with Slaughter and Destruction?* He farther commanded him to leave the Town, concluding with wishing Confusion and Destruction to him and all his Accomplices. Upon his sitting down, *Catiline*, well prepared with all manner of Artifice and Dissimulation, with a dejected Countenance, and suppliant Tone, besought the Fathers, *not over-rashly to credit vain Reports concerning him; nor to believe that a Person of his Rank, whose own, and whose Ancestors Services had been so remarkably beneficial, stood in need of a ruin'd Common-wealth;* concluding with many scurrilous Reflections upon *Cicero*; which not being hearkened to by the Senate, he left the House in a great Rage, breathing out Ruin and Destruction to all his Enemies. He left the City late at Night with 300 arm'd Men, and *Lictors* with *Axes* and *Fasces* before him like a Magistrate, and retir'd into *Hetruria*, gathering together Soldiers all the way, intending to return to the City, which he had order'd *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to lay in Ashes at an appointed time.

In the mean time the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, now in Town, were also persuaded to stir up the *Gauls* against the Commonwealth; but declaring their Designs to *Fabius Sanga* their Patron, it came shortly to *Cicero's* Ear, and so was prevented. The Day after *Catiline's* Departure, *Cicero* summon'd the People, and
made

made a second Oration to 'em, where he congratulated the People and Commonwealth for being freed from so infamous a Person; and encourag'd 'em, by representing the Forces of that Rebel as both small and inconsiderable. Upon this the Senate judged *Catiline* an Enemy to the State, and likewise *Manlius* who had join'd him in *Hetruria*; *Lentulus* also was depriv'd of his Office of *Prætor*, by whom the Ambassadors had been persuaded over, who confess'd that they had often heard him make his Conjectures from the *Sibylline Oracles*. *Cicero* shortly after summon'd the People again, and made another Oration to 'em, wherein he reported the Particulars of the Discovery, with the Arraignment and Conviction of many of the Conspirators. *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Cassius*, and several others being now secur'd, *Cicero* call'd the Senate, and propounded to the Fathers to consider what was to be done with the Prisoners: But while the Senate was sitting, great Disturbances arose in the City; for the Slaves and Dependents of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had gather'd together a great Number of Artificers and Rabble, who endeavour'd to break in upon the back-side of the *Prætor's* House, and rescue the Prisoners. Upon Notice of this, *Cicero* left the Senate-house, and appointing a Watch and sufficient Guards, return'd, asking the Opinions of the Senators.

Now a great Debate arose concerning the Punishment of the Prisoners: *Silanus*, design'd Consul for the next Year, being first ask'd his Opinion, according to Custom, was for putting 'em to Death, as were several others, till *Nero* dissuaded it, and *Julius Cæsar* standing up, in a plausible Speech, pleaded much for Mercy, and disapprov'd of Death as an irregular Way of proceeding, speaking to this effect: *If any Punishment might be found to equalize their Faults, then I shou'd approve your Design; but if the vastness of their Crimes surpasses all our Inventions, we ought to make use of such as the Law provides: Tho' I must confess*

less that all the Tortures in the World are inferior to their Offences; yet most Men still remember what comes last, and in the Sufferings of the most Impious, forget the Fact, and discourse of nothing but the Punishment, if more severe than ordinary: And since the Porcian Law only punishes Capital Offenders with Exile, we ought not to bring in Innovations; for certainly their Wisdom and Virtue was greater, who rais'd so vast an Empire from such small Beginnings, than ours, who can hardly preserve what they so bravely won. Cæsar's Advice was likely enough to have taken, till Porcius Cato, Grandson to the great Moralist, stood up, and with some Heat oppos'd him, saying, That he had never pardon'd in himself the least Error of his own Thoughts, and therefore cou'd not easily forgive the Misdemeanors of a turbulent Passion and Ambition in others. That among the ancient Romans, Manlius Torquatus had caus'd his own Son to be put to death only for fighting the Enemy contrary to his Command: And if that valiant Youth was so severely chastis'd for his over-hasty Courage, shall the present Generation hesitate what to decree against the most bloody of Parricides, and the greatest Monsters of Mankind?

Cicero after these Speeches made one himself, which was his fourth upon this Occasion, wherein he with a cunning sort of Mildness and Ambiguity inclin'd to Cato's side, telling them, That his Earnestness did not proceed from any Malice or Anger, but from a singular Tenderness and Compassion: That they ought to consider, that it was not T. Gracchus, who requir'd a second Tribuneship, nor C. Gracchus, who claim'd the publick Lands, nor yet Saturninus, who slew Memmius, that was to be call'd in question; but Burners of the City, Murderers of the People, and Assistants of Catiline himself: And likewise that this Mischief was already diffus'd over all Italy; and beyond the Alps, and therefore impossible to be crush'd with Forbearance and Delays. By Cicero's Speech the Senate was induc'd to put 'em all to Death, which the Consul saw executed before the House arose; but Cæsar's Mildness and peculiar Manage-

Management in this Affair, made several suspect he himself had some hand in the Conspiracy. As for *Catiline* himself, he was shortly after overtaken by *C. Antonius*, *Cicero's* Collegue, nigh the *Alps*, as he was passing into *Gaul* to compleat his Levies; where engaging most obstinately, he was slain; but his Men desperately fought it out to the last, and scarce any of 'em remain'd to be taken, or were found out of their Places when dead. Thus was this most dangerous Conspiracy quash'd, chiefly by the Vigilance and Diligence of *Cicero* the Consul. Publick Thanks were given him for his great Care and Pains; and, at the Instance of *Cato*, he was first of all others stil'd *Father of his Country*, and that with loud Acclamations of the People, who said, *That tho' indeed they were indebted to several Commanders of that Age, for Riches, Spoils, and Power; yet it was to Cicero alone that they ow'd the Safety and Security of all these Blessings.*

U. C.
692.

V. After these Disturbances were over, the Affairs of *Rome* were in a much more quiet Posture; but neither *Catiline's* Defeat nor Death was sufficient to settle the City in a firm and lasting Peace, but still she lay expos'd to the sinister Designs which some more ambitious Senators than the rest were always forming against her Liberty: Nor could their Inclinations of that kind meet with greater Temptations, since the gaining of this only City must carry with it so great a Part of the World. And now it was that *Cæsar* began to make a greater Appearance in *Rome* than ever, being this Year made *Prætor*. He had before gone thro' the two Offices of *Quæstor* and *Ædile*, in the latter of which, by his Magnificence in Shews and Buildings, he had acquitted himself with much Reputation, having also the Advantage of being descended from one of the most Illustrious Families in *Rome*. He afterwards stood for the *High-Priesthood*, and, by his great Liberality, carry'd it from two
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of the most powerful Men in *Rome*, and his Seniors; and scarce any Man in the City was more remarkable, either for the Freeness of his Presents, or the Largeness of his Bribes. He was now also arriv'd at a very high Degree in Learning, as well as an admirable Skill in Eloquence, having already disputed the Prize with the most famous Orators, and scarce any thing appear'd impossible for his great *Genius* to undertake. Little was perform'd by him during this time of his *Prætorship*, besides composing some Disturbances occasion'd by one *Clodius*, a young Man of a Noble Family, but of a scandalous Life, who being in Love with *Cæsar's* Wife *Pompeia*, had in a Woman's Habit enter'd his House in the time of a particular Festival, when only Women were permitted to be present. This brought *Clodius* into much Trouble and Danger, for prophaning those sacred Institutions, and caus'd *Cæsar* to put away his Wife privately; who being ask'd the Reason, said, *He did not believe her guilty; but Cæsar's Wife ought to preserve her self from the Suspicion, as well as the Guilt of the Crime.*

The violent Heats, and the Parties, with the Factions and Divisions, upon this and other Occasions, sufficiently shew'd, that the State was ready for a Change, and liable to become a Prey to Men of the greatest Power and Ambition. This *Cæsar* well knew, and thought of nothing so much, as the Greatness of *Pompey*, and of surpassing, or at least equalizing him in the Honour of his Exploits. Therefore, upon the expiring of his *Prætorship*, he procur'd the Government of *Spain*; but having contracted extraordinary Debts by his too bountiful Way of Living, he was retarded in his Journey by the Prosecution of his Creditors. Whereupon he was forc'd to apply himself to *Crassus*, a Person of vast Riches, of great Wit and Eloquence, and of no contemptible Valour; who
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being wrought upon by the Importunities of his Wife *Tertulla*, one who no less lov'd *Cæsar* than *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became Security for 830 Talents. It was in this Government that *Cæsar* viewing the Statue of *Alexander* at *Gades*, wept to think, *That he had done nothing Great and Memorable, at an Age wherein that Prince had conquer'd the World.* And he gave indeed sufficient Marks of his Bravery and Desire of Glory; for instead of suspending his Time in bare Administration of Justice, he pierc'd with his Arms farther into the Country, subduing several Nations before untouch'd, and collected together so vast a Treasure to himself, in the Name of the Commonwealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander*, whom he so justly admir'd.

Shortly after *Cæsar's* Departure for *Spain*, *Pompey*, after a five Year's Expedition, return'd to *Rome*, cover'd with Glories for his mighty Exploits and great Conquests: He had, upon his Arrival into *Italy*, sent back his Troops, to prevent such Suspicions as might arise from his appearing at the Head of an Army, so that he obtain'd the Honour of a Triumph with a general Applause; and with so much more Splendour and Magnificence, in regard that he now triumph'd over another third Part of the World, after his receiving the same Honour for the Conquest of two Parts of it before. The Triumph lasted two Days, and yet they were much streighten'd for Time, and therein were expos'd the Names of 15 conquer'd Kingdoms, and 800 Cities, with the Re-peopling of 29, and 1000 Castles. Among the Prisoners led in Triumph, appear'd the Son of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter; as also *Zozima*, the Wife of King *Tigranes* himself, and *Aristobulus* King of *Judæa*; the Sister of King *Mithridates*, with her five Sons, and some Ladies of *Scythia*. There were likewise the
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Hostages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, with those of the King of *Comagena*; besides a vast Number of Trophies, answering directly to each particular Battel wherein he was Conqueror. The Gold, Silver and Jewels, that made up Part of this Publick Pomp, amounted to the Value of 20000 Talents, which is 3740000 Pounds of our Money. He made it appear by an Account plainly stated, That he had advanc'd and improv'd the whole Revenue of the Commonwealth 120000 Talents, being above one third Part, by this Expedition, without mentioning those large Sums he had distributed among his Men, whereof the meanest Soldier's Share was nigh forty Pounds.

Pompey, tho' he had obtain'd vast Honour of the Senate, yet was much fear'd and hated by many, as appear'd by the great Opposition he met with shortly after, in his demanding a Confirmation of all that he had transacted in *Asia*, and certain Lands for a Reward for his Soldiers: He had already prevail'd by his Credit in the Election of both the Consuls, *Metellus Creticus* and *Africanus*; but in a short time found himself mistaken in his Choice: For *Africanus* being wholly given to his Pleasure, never acquired much Authority in the Senate; and *Metellus* cancell'd all former Obligations, upon the Account of the Disgrace that was sent to his Sister *Mutia*, whom *Pompey* had put away upon Suspicion of her too great Familiarity with *Cæsar*. *Cato*, on the other side, set all his Power against the Interests of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* did the like, desiring, and obtaining of the Senate, that those Decrees of his which *Pompey* had formerly repeal'd might be in force, and that those made in reference to the conquer'd Countries might be null'd, and withal stopp'd his intended Law for rewarding his Soldiers. *Pompey*, upon this Usage, apply'd himself to the *Tribunes*, (which Office he and *Cæsar* had

restor'd after *Sylla* had put it down) one of which, by Name *Flavius*, propos'd the Law for the Reward of the Soldiers. *Metellus* the Consul oppos'd it very sharply, till the Contest arising even to Blows and Bloodshed, the *Tribune* caus'd *Metellus* to be sent to Prison ; and when the whole Body of the Senate offer'd to make themselves Prisoners with him, *Flavius* plac'd his *Tribunal* at the Prison-Door, and forbad 'em Entrance. Upon which the Fathers caus'd the Walls to be broken down in another Place ; and the Constancy of the Senate began to shake the Resolution of the People, who always judg'd of Things by their outward Appearances. This *Pompey* quickly perceiv'd, and desir'd the *Tribunes* to accommodate the Matter, pretending Commission from *Metellus* for his so doing ; now too late repenting his inconsiderate leaving his Army, and exposing himself to his Enemies Hatred.

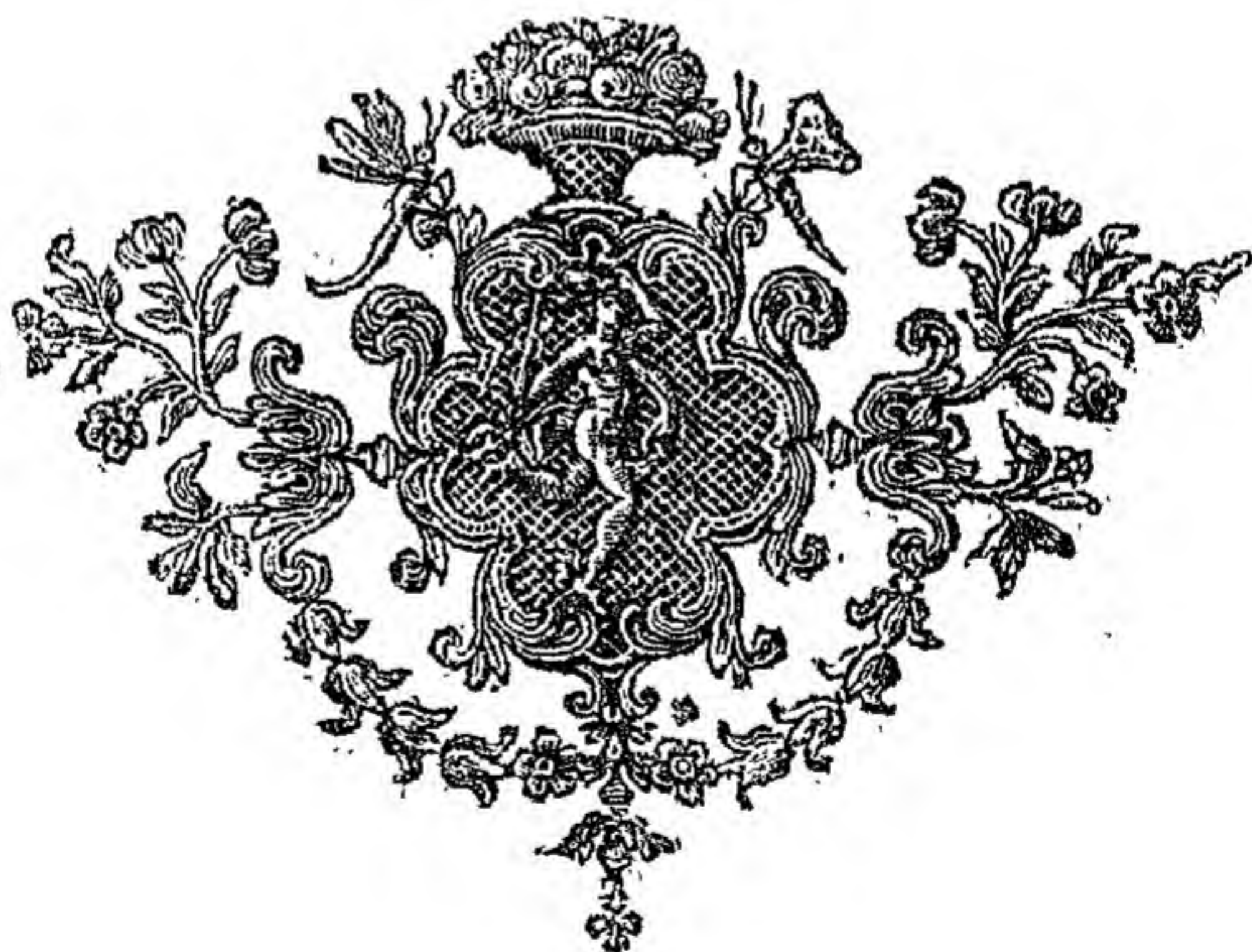
At the same time *Cæsar* return'd from *Spain*, the Election of new Consuls being at hand : *Cæsar* had good Intelligence of all these Disturbances, and the Reasons of *Pompey's* Dissatisfaction, so that he now resolv'd either to improve his own Authority with the Senate, or find a good Opportunity of quitting their Interest. His Services in *Spain* had sufficiently deserv'd a Triumph ; wherefore he desir'd it of the Senate, declaring at the same time his Design also of standing for the *Consulship*. Now these Desires were inconsistent ; for the Law forbad Entrance into the City to any one who desir'd a Triumph ; and requir'd also, that whoever su'd for the *Consulship*, shou'd do it in his proper Person. *Cæsar* therefore wrote to the Senate, desiring that these Formalities might be dispens'd withal ; but *Cato* stood up for the maintaining the Laws to their utmost Rigour, and his Opinion prevail'd ; so that *Cæsar* chose to decline his Triumph ; and went to *Rome* and stood for the Con-

Consulship, which Honour he very eagerly pursu'd. And well understanding *Pompey's* Credit, and his Quarrel to the Senate, this he thought a fit Conjunction to engage himself into his Interests. *Pompey* on the other side was no less pleas'd to gain a Man of such extraordinary Merit, especially when *Cæsar* promis'd him to confirm all his Acts, if he could procure him to be elected; whereupon a close Agreement was made between 'em. After this, *Cæsar* made it his Business to bring his Friend *Crassus* into the League, who finding his own Interest was weak separately, was easily persuaded to join with 'em, and a former Breach between him and *Pompey* was wholly accommodated. These three made a firm Combination, or Conspiracy, *That nothing shou'd be done in the Commonwealth against any of their Interests or Approbations*, which they most solemnly confirm'd with mutual Oaths and Promises. This was the first Great *Triumvirate*, which prov'd the Overthrow of the *Consular* and *Popular* State, being a Combination of three of the greatest Men in *Rome*, either for Valour, Authority, or Riches, *Pompey* being then about 47 Years of Age, and *Cæsar* 40.

Thus *Rome* lost her Liberty, after she had flourish'd many Years in a wonderful Grandeur, occasion'd wholly by the numerous Abuses, and notorious Corruptions in her Government and Inhabitants, which shortly after plung'd her into greater Miseries than ever she felt before. This remarkable Union happen'd in the 694th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3945, in the first Year of the 180th Olympiad, 449 Years since the Beginning of the *Consular State*, 330 since the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, 270 since the Beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, 86 since the Destruction of *Carthage*, and 58 before our Saviour's Nativity, the *Roman* Dominions containing now

all *Italy*, all *Cisalpine Gaul*, and Part of the other, all *Spain* and *Africk*, all *Greece* and *Illyricum*, all the Kingdoms in *Asia Minor*, with *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, *Syria*, and *Judæa*, and many Islands besides.

The End of the Second Book.





T H E
Roman History.

B O O K III.


The Mix'd State of ROME, from the Beginning of the First Triumvirate, to the perfect Settlement of the Empire.

Containing the Space of 33 Years.

C H A P. I.

From the Beginning of the first Triumvirate, to the Death of Crassus, one of the Combination; which broke and divided that Party.

Containing the Space of 7 Years.

I.  H E Senate of Rome was now arriv'd U. C. 694.
to an extraordinary Height, whether The First Triumvirate,
we consider the Extent and Fruitful-
ness of its Dominions, the Strength
and Power of its Arms, the Fame
and Valour of its Commanders, the Abundance and
Largeness of its Revenues, the Compass and Mag-
nificence of its City, and the Numbers and Riches,
as well as Learning and Politeness of its Inhabitants;
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but still it wanted considerably of that Glory and Grandeur, as to Dominions, and much more of that Quiet and Sereneness as to Settlement, it had not long after in *Augustus's* Reign. For now the State was full of Factions and Divisions, Briberies and Corruptions, and likewise Feuds and Jealousies, since the joining of three such potent Men as *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, which caus'd many to fear the Downfal of their ancient Liberties; and that their Fears were not groundless, sufficiently appear'd by the Event. The first Effect of this *Triumvirate* was the promoting of *Cæsar* to the Consulship, *Pompey* and *Crassus* employing all their Interest therein: He had two Competitors, *Lucerius* and *Bibulus*; the former a covetous, tho' rich Man, was taken off by large Promises, and brib'd to procure what Voices he cou'd for *Cæsar*. The Senators, resolving to have *Bibulus* one of the Consuls, made great Collections among themselves, and gave as much on their side. Even *Cato*, as rigid as he was, was persuaded that the Law which forbad all manner of Bribery on these Occasions, ought, in such a Case, to be dispens'd withal, when the Interest of the Commonwealth so much requir'd it; so by that means *Bibulus* was at last chosen Consul with *Cæsar*.

U. C.
695.

The first thing *Cæsar* did in his Office, was his confirming all *Pompey's* Acts, according to Agreement, and from that time he wholly apply'd himself to gain the Favour of the Commons: And the better to effect it, he preferr'd a Law for dividing certain Lands in *Campania* among such of the poor Citizens as had three Children or more. This Proposal much pleas'd the Commons, and *Cæsar* had taken the most proper Methods to make it pass; for the Law was drawn up in Terms so very just and reasonable, that no Man cou'd find fault with it. He declar'd to the Senators, *That he wou'd do nothing without their Authority, nor propose any of his Friends for Commissioners, or any Man who might be liable to Suspicion; but that they shou'd be all*
Persons

Persons of known Reputation and Abilities. This plausible and cautious way of proceeding, hardly left any room for Contradiction ; but still the Senate, that they might hinder the Law, and yet not seem to oppose it, adjourn'd the Affair from Day to Day ; till at last *Cato* plainly and publickly declar'd, *That these Changes in State were not to be permitted ;* after whom all the Senate likewise declar'd themselves to be of the same Opinion. Whereupon *Cæsar* immediately had recourse to the People, much complaining to them of the Injustice and Stubbornness of the Senate, taking also *Pompey* and *Crassus* along with him, whose Opinions he publickly ask'd concerning this Law. They both approv'd of it ; and *Pompey* further declar'd, *That if such as oppos'd it should come with their Swords in their Hands, he wou'd meet their Swords, and bring a Buckler with him besides :* Whereupon a Day was appointed for the Publication of this Law.

At the appointed Day, the People gather'd together in great Numbers, and in spite of all Opposition, drove *Cato* and *Bibulus* himself with Stones and Clubs from off the Place ; the Consul's Axes were broken in pieces, and the People approving the Ordinance, declar'd they would have all the Senators swear to the Observation of it. Almost all took this Oath, except *Cato*, *Metellus*, and *Favonius*, and they too, at last, after much Opposition, took it, to save their Fines, and likewise their Lives : For *Cæsar* had caus'd the People to make it Capital for any one to refuse it. *Cæsar* made little use of the Senate after that, and from that time his Colleague *Bibulus* never durst appear in Publick, but kept himself at home for the remaining part of the Year. This forcible way of proceeding extremely alarm'd the Senate, every body laughing at their Idleness and Negligence ; and at the Head of those Acts, where the Names of the Consuls us'd to be inscrib'd, some unknown Person, instead of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, wrote *Caius Cæsar* and *Julius Cæsar*, to shew that *Cæsar* govern'd alone.

Cæsar

Cæsar having freed himself from his Collegue, began chiefly to apply himself to the *Equites* or *Knights*, who much courted him; and having farm'd the Customs, desir'd an Abatement of the Rent. The Senate refus'd to remit any thing; but he shortly after procur'd the People to abate a third Part. By this and other ways of gratifying the common Sort, he perswaded 'em to decree the Province of *Gaul* to him for five Years, with four Legions; for he desir'd nothing so much as performing great Exploits; and the remaining Part of the Year he spent in endeavouring to establish his Interest for the time to come. Therefore knowing how considerable a Person *Pompey* was, to bind him the more strongly, he gave him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, a very virtuous and beautiful Lady. He likewise took care that his two Friends *Gabinus* and *Piso* should be prick'd for the following Year's Consuls; the latter of which had lately given him his Daughter *Calpurnia*. *Clodius* he procur'd to be one of the *Tribunes*, notwithstanding his former Affront, because he knew him to be an Enemy to *Cicero*, whose Oration against *Cæsar*, in pleading for *C. Antonius*, had gain'd him the Hatred of the *Triumvirate*. And having settled Affairs thus, and finish'd his *Consulship*, he departed for *Gaul*, with some Precipitation, in regard he was threaten'd to be call'd to account for his Conduct in his *Consulship*; and tho' some of the *Tribunes* prevented his publick Censure, they cou'd not secure his *Quæstor* from Condemnation.

In *Cæsar's* Absence, *Pompey* and *Crassus* were not idle, and the former had fill'd the City with Soldiers; and since both the Consuls were of that Party, the Senate's Authority was much weaken'd. But *Clodius* bestirr'd himself more than any; a Man so ambitious of the *Tribuneship*, that he procur'd himself to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, because he was incapable of holding of it before. *Cicero* immediately perceiv'd that his Ruin was aim'd at; and his chiefest Hope was in *Pompey*, who had always shewn him-

self his Friend ; but *Pompey* had now sacrific'd all to the Interests of *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, and had lately been extremely offended with *Cicero* for his eternal Itch he had to be jesting. *Pompey* nevertheless assur'd him of his Protection, and *Cæsar* had offer'd to make him his Lieutenant in his *Gallick Expedition*, to which Employment he had a strong Inclination ; but *Pompey* advis'd him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* found some Artifice to delude him with false Hopes of Reconciliation, that he might be confounded and born down, before he was sufficiently sensible of his Danger. In short, all the World conspir'd to deceive him ; and that piercing Judgment and Quickness of Apprehension he us'd so much to value himself upon, which became altogether unserviceable to him now, and he cou'd find no way to avoid the Blow when it came. *Clodius*, by his Distributions of Corn among the Poor, daily grew higher in the Favour of the People, and afterwards preferr'd a Law to forbid Water and Fire to any who had put to death any *Roman Citizen* unheard, which amounted to as much as Banishment.

Now all Persons saw the Danger which threaten'd *Cicero* ; all his former Constancy forsook him, and he went up and down the City, soliciting his Cause, in mourning Robes, long Beard, and unregarded Hair, attended by 20000 *Equites*, supplicating in his behalf, besides many young Noblemen, whom he had taught the Rules of Eloquence, among which were the very Sons of *Crassus*. But *Clodius* still follow'd with a Party of Soldiers, insulting and jeering him with the poorness of his Spirit, till they almost came to throwing of Stones at each other. But the Respect to the *Sacrosanct* Office hinder'd *Cicero's* side from returning the Injuries ; yet nevertheless the *Senators* design'd to order a general Mourning ; but the *Consuls* stop'd that Debate, and *Clodius* summon'd 'em all to appear before the People, where *Piso* only said, *He took no Delight in Cruelty* ; but *Gabinus* immediately condemn'd

demn'd what *Cicero* had done as to *Catiline's* Conspiracy. *Cicero's* last Retreat was *Pompey's* Favour, who was able enough to have done him Service, but he wou'd have nothing to do in the matter; and when *Cicero* came to prefer his Cause to him, he slip't out at a back Door to avoid seeing him. He found himself now reduc'd to the last Necessity of taking up Arms for his Defence, which he might have done successfully enough: but not being able to bear the Blood-shed of his Country-men, he resolv'd, upon the Advice of *Cato*, and the rest of his Friends, to withdraw himself: So he left *Rome* in the Night-time, and went to *Sicily*. After his Retreat *Clodius* caus'd him to be banish'd by the Votes of the People 400 Miles from *Italy*, demolishing his Villages and his House, on the Plat whereon he built a Temple to *Liberty*, and set his Goods to Sale. *Cato* was shortly after, by *Clodius's* means, sent away, under Pretence of doing him Honour, against *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*; *Lucullus* had retir'd himself from the City, and *Crassus* minded only his private Affairs: So that now the greatest Part of the Government of the City seem'd to lie between *Pompey* and *Clodius*.

U. C.
696.

II. During these Transactions in the City, *Cæsar* was extraordinary busy and diligent in his Expedition, by which he propos'd vast Ends and Advantages to himself, having not only *Cisalpine Gaul* allotted him, but the other also, which comprehended all that space of Land, which is now call'd *France*, with a great Part of the *Low-Countries*, and some of *Germany*. His first Enterprize was against the *Helvetians*, who had wholly abandon'd their Country, burnt down their Towns and Houses, destroy'd their Provisions, and were marching into *Gaul* thro' his Province, to the number of above 300000 of all sorts. *Cæsar*, upon Intelligence of this, hasten'd to *Geneva*, and broke down the Bridge there; which caus'd 'em to send to him, and desire to pass that way without

out Molestation. But *Cæsar* resolving not to grant 'em Passage, delay'd answering till he could gather all his Troops together, in which space he threw up a large Intrenchment from the Lake of *Geneva* to Mount *Jura*, 12 Miles long, which forc'd 'em to turn aside, and enter *Gaul* by the way of *Sequania*. *Cæsar* follow'd them with great Diligence, and defeating a considerable Party of 'em, they sent a second time to desire a Treaty; but that breaking off, upon the account of great Demands on both sides, 4000 of *Cæsar's* Cavalry were repuls'd by pressing too forward upon 'em. But they dearly paid for this Advantage; for *Cæsar*, after observing their Motions a-while, easily drew 'em to a general Battel, wherein they were intirely defeated, and not above 110000 remain'd of their whole Number, their Wives and Children desperately fighting among the Carriages, till they were cut in pieces. *Cæsar* crown'd his Victory with a more glorious Action, by gathering all who had escap'd, and sending of 'em all in Safety into their own Countries.

Cæsar resolving not to continue without Action while the Season permitted, immediately turn'd his Forces against *Ariovistus*, King of the *Germans*, who had seiz'd on the best Part of *Sequania*, and used the Inhabitants with intolerable Severities and Oppressions. The *Sequanians* being *Roman* Allies, humbly begg'd Assistance of *Cæsar*, as a Man of undoubted Renown and Valour, who first sent to *Ariovistus* without Success, and at last came to a personal Interview, where *Ariovistus's* haughty Language, and the Treachery of some of his Troops, brought both Armies to a Battel shortly after. Upon the nigh Approach of *Cæsar*, *Ariovistus* was much dishearten'd; for seeing the *Romans* coming fearlessly to engage the *Germans*, whom he imagin'd they could never withstand, it was so unexpected a thing, that he admir'd at *Cæsar's* Courage, and found his own Army seiz'd with a kind of Consternation. But what added most
to

to their Fears, was a superstitious Fancy rais'd by their Augurs; which when *Cæsar* understood, he immediately attack'd 'em even in their Trenches, and upon the Hill where they were posted, till he so provok'd 'em, that they came down with great Fury to the Engagement. But they were all put to the Rout, and he closely pursu'd 'em for several Miles together, as far as the River *Rhine*, covering all the Way with Spoils and dead Bodies, to the number of 80000, as some relate it. *Ariovistus* himself escap'd in a little Boat with a small Retinue, two of his Wives, and as many Daughters being taken Prisoners by *Cæsar*. These two great Wars were dispatch'd by *Cæsar* in his first Year's Expedition, which he manag'd with extraordinary Skill and Dexterity.

In the beginning of the next Spring, *Cæsar* was alarm'd by a great Confederacy against the *Romans* of all the *Belga*, who inhabited a third Part of *Gaul*, and were esteem'd the most powerful People in the whole Country. He hearing that they had rais'd above 280000 Men, directed his March to 'em with all Speed, and bravely attacking 'em just as they were plundering his Allies, the *Gauls*, he defeated, and put to flight a mighty Number of 'em; inso-much that the Marshes and deep Rivers became passable to the *Romans* by the prodigious Number of the dead Bodies, as *Plutarch* relates it. But among several Revolters, all that liv'd nigh the Ocean, yielded without fighting; wherefore he led his Army against the *Nervians*, the most savage and war-like People in those Parts. These inhabited a thick woody Country, where bestowing their Children and all their Goods in some close and convenient Place in their Forest, they set upon *Cæsar* with 60000 Men, before he thought of engaging, or had time to encamp himself. They fell on with such uncommon Fury, that they broke the *Roman* Cavalry; then surrounding the twelfth and seventh Legions, they kill'd all the Officers; and if *Cæsar* himself had not hastily

hastily catch'd up a Buckler, and rush'd thro' his Men into the midst of the Enemy, and his tenth Legion run in to his Assistance, and broke the Enemies Ranks, they had been all cut off. But tho' by the Encouragement of *Cæsar's* extraordinary Valour, they fought beyond their Strength, yet all they cou'd do was not sufficient to make the *Nervians* fly, who obstinately stood their Ground till they were all cut in pieces, not a Thousand of them being sav'd. This was *Cæsar's* second Year's Expedition, and the Renown of his Victories made him formidable even in *Germany*, so that several Nations beyond the *Rhine* sent and submitted themselves to him.

Upon the News of *Cæsar's* last Exploits at *Rome*, the Senate decreed a solemn Festival for 15 Days, which was a greater Honour than any had receiv'd before him. Not long before which, violent Stirs and Commotions had been rais'd in the City upon the account of *Clodius*, who, after he had freed himself from his Enemies, began to prove an intolerable Plague and Vexation to many of the Nobility, and even to *Pompey* himself; so that now he found it very much for his Interest to get *Cicero* recall'd from his Banishment. Whereupon he employ'd *Milo*, one of the *Tribunes*, and of great Courage, for that purpose; and using his Interest with many others, the Matter was at last propounded to the Senate, where it was generally agreed to. But *Clodius* oppos'd it with the utmost Violence; and when the Matter was propos'd to the Body of the People, and promoted as much as possible by *Milo* and his Colleague, *Sextus Clodius*, assisted by a Party of Gladiators, suddenly set upon the Multitude, raising the greatest Disorders imaginable: Many of the People were kill'd, the *Tribunes* were wounded, and *Quintus, Cicero's* Brother, was almost overwhelm'd with dead Bodies, and the rest all fled. After a Day or two, *Milo* seiz'd upon *Clodius*, and carry'd him before the *Prætor*: Whereupon a great Contest arose, and *Clodius's* Party, by the Assistance of *Pompey's* Gladiators, after

after some Bloodshed, were beaten off. *Pompey* immediately possessing himself of the *Forum*, put the People upon giving their Suffrages, who with universal Consent and Applause voted *Cicero's* Restitution. The Senate likewise decreed Honours to such Cities as had entertain'd him, and that his House and Villages should be rebuilt at the Publick Charge. So *Cicero*, after 16 Months Banishment, return'd in great Pomp and Glory, sufficiently revenging himself upon *Piso*, *Gabinus*, and others, by his Writings afterwards. He return'd in the second Year of *Cæsar's* Wars in *Gaul*.

The following Year, *Cæsar* designing for *Italy* himself, sent out *Servius Galba*, one of his Lieutenants, with the twelfth Legion and part of the Cavalry, against the *Antuates*, *Veragres*, and *Seduni*, Nations seated from the River *Rhosne*, as high as the *Alps*, in order to clear a Passage, and secure all manner of Traffick in those Parts. *Galba* in a short time defeated a very great Party, who had been so bold as to attack him in his Camp. *Cæsar* not long after returning, found that the *Veneti*, and several other Nations of that Part of *Gaul* call'd *Celtica*, had revolted, he turn'd a great Part of his Force against them: And these caus'd him extraordinary Trouble and many Difficulties, by reason of their Naval Strength, by which means they continually shifted themselves, and remov'd from Place to Place. But at last *Cæsar* having procur'd a Fleet, attack'd the *Veneti* at Sea, and there overthrew 'em; *Crassus*, one of his Lieutenants, the mean time subdu'd the *Sontiates*, with the greatest Part of *Aquitain*, as *Sabinus*, another of 'em, did the *Unelli*, and all the Maritime Parts. Towards the latter end of the Campaign, *Cæsar* march'd against the *Morini*, a People nigh *Calais*, and the *Menapii* also, which two Nations were still up in Arms. But the Season being too far advanc'd, the Rains and foul Weather secur'd them in the Forests and Marshes, and caus'd *Cæsar* to put his Men all into their Winter Quarters, which ended his third Year's Expedition in *Gaul*. III. As

III. As *Cæsar's* Conquests establish'd his Reputation in *Rome*, so his Humanity, and other excellent Qualities, absolutely gain'd him the Hearts and Affections of his Soldiers. He had now got great store of Wealth, by which he not only discharg'd his Debts, but likewise made many great Friends by his magnificent Presents, especially to the Ladies, corrupting also the *Ædiles*, *Prætors* and *Consuls* themselves. In this Winter he pass'd into *Italy* to *Lucca*, where he took up his Head-Quarters, where there was so great a Concourse of People to pay him their Respects, that 200 Senators were present together, and so many *Prætors* and *Proconsuls*, that 120 Bundles of Rods were seen there at a time. Here the *Triumvirate* took new Measures, and *Cæsar* fearing he might be recall'd from *Gaul*, procur'd *Pompey* and *Crassus* to endeavour at the Consulship the following Year, and so continue him in his Employment for five Years longer. This Design was so displeasing to the Senate, and the Dissentions so violent concerning it, that they went into Mourning as in Publick Calamities; saying, *That the Proceedings of the Triumvirate were dangerous to the Quiet and Liberty of Rome.* *Cato* with great Eagerness set up *Domitius* to stand against 'em; but *Pompey* resolving to remove all Obstacles, sent some arm'd Men against *Domitius* as he was going to the Election, who kill'd the Slave that carry'd the Light before 'em, and dispers'd all their Company, *Cato* himself receiving a Wound on the Arm, and *Domitius* hardly escaping: And thus by Force and Violence both *Pompey* and *Crassus* obtain'd the Consulship. The People shortly after being ready to give *Cato* the *Prætorship*, *Pompey* pretended strange Prodigies in Heaven, and dismiss'd the Assembly: Then corrupting the Tribes with Money, he procur'd 'em to chuse *Antius* and *Vatinius*, *Prætors*. Then by the Assistance of *Trebonius* the *Tribune*, the Consuls procur'd Laws which continu'd *Cæsar* in his Government in *Gaul* for five Years longer, and assign'd *Syria* and the

Parthian War to Crassus, and Africk and Spain to Pompey, with four Legions, whereof he lent two to Cæsar for the Gallick Wars.

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Cæsar was now proceeding in his fourth Year's Expedition, which was employ'd against several Nations of *Germany*, who, to the Number of 430000 of all sorts, being driven out of their own Country by the *Suevi*, the most powerful of all the *Germans*, had pass'd the *Rhine* into *Gaul*, and forc'd the *Menapii* from their Habitations. *Cæsar* well knowing the Levity of the *Gauls*, and their readiness to cast off their Yoke, resolv'd to hinder the *Germans* settling on this side of the *Rhine*. And perceiving that the *Gauls* had begun to treat with 'em, he dissembled it, and anticipating the usual time of taking the Field, he march'd directly to the *Germans*, who being amaz'd at his extraordinary Diligence, sent Ambassadors to him concerning a Treaty. He gave them a patient Hearing and favourable Answers, but still continu'd his March towards 'em. At last the Articles were agreed upon, provided *Cæsar* wou'd stay three Days, but he wou'd allow 'em but one; during which time his Cavalry going out to forage, met with a Party of *German* Horse, who fell furiously upon 'em, and put 'em to flight, pursuing 'em to their very Camp. The *Germans* sending their principal Officers the next Day to excuse the Fact, *Cæsar* detain'd 'em Prisoners, and advancing with his whole Army towards the Enemy, surpriz'd 'em, and cut 'em all in pieces; after which, with great Skill and Industry, he laid a Bridge over the *Rhine*, march'd into *Germany*, reliev'd the *Ubi*, granted a Peace to such as were willing to depose Hostages, burnt and destroy'd the rest, and at the end of 18 Days return'd into *Gaul*, breaking down the Bridge behind him.

Cæsar finding he had time this Year to undertake a new Expedition, and led on by the Greatness of his Courage, and his Desire of Glory, resolv'd to cross the Seas into *Britain*; an Enterprize so very hazardous,
that

that few but *Cæsar* wou'd have ventur'd upon it. His Pretence was the *Britains* sending continual Supplies into *Gaul* against the *Romans*; and in order to his Design, he made strict Enquiries of the Merchants that traded thither, what kind of People they were, how they made War, under what Laws they liv'd, and which were their best Ports. After which he sent *Volusenus* to view the Coasts, in the mean time sending for the Ships he had employ'd against the *Veneti*, and making all other necessary Preparations. Upon the News of which, several of the *British* People sent their Ambassadors with Tokens of Submission, whom he sent back with good Words, and with them *Cornio*, the better to discover the Country under that Pretence. But *Cornio*, not daring to trust the Inhabitants, continu'd but five Days upon the Coasts, and then return'd to make Report of what he had discover'd. *Cæsar* leaving all things in *Gaul* in a peaceable Posture, and *Sulpicius Rufus* to guard the Ports, put to Sea with two Legions and part of his Cavalry after Mid-night, and made the *British* Coasts the next Morning, where he found the Shores cover'd with Men to oppose his Landing; and finding it impracticable there, he sail'd eight Miles further. There the *Romans* met with great Opposition, and were in danger of being driven back, till the Standard-Bearer of the tenth Legion boldly leap'd ashore; and being well supported by *Cæsar's* Diligence, all the Army landed, and the *Britains* fled.

The *Britains* were so terrify'd at the *Romans* Success, that they sent to desire a Peace, which was granted them, and some Hostages deliver'd. But a great Storm arising at this time, miserably shatter'd the Transport-ships lying at Anchor; and this, with *Cæsar's* want of Provisions, so encourag'd the *Britains*, that instead of sending him the rest of their Hostages, they march'd with a powerful Army against him; who meeting with one of the Legions abroad, had almost defeated 'em; but *Cæsar* came in with timely Assistance,

Assistance, and brought 'em off safely. In these Extremities *Cæsar* lost no time in refitting his Ships, procuring of Provisions, and securing his Camp; and being afresh attack'd by the *Britains*, he overthrew 'em, and burnt many of their Towns, which oblig'd 'em again to desire a Peace. Upon which he requir'd a double Number of Hostages; and finding the Season far advanc'd, he again put to Sea, and return'd to *Gaul*, where he safely landed, only two Ships that had on board 300 Men, landing a little lower, were set upon by the *Morini*, who not long before had been reconcil'd to *Cæsar*. They were soon reliev'd, and *Labienus* was sent to chastise the Revolters; who being reduc'd, he and *Cotta* harrafs'd the Country of the *Menapians*, who had hid themselves in the Woods. After which the *Roman Army* was sent to their Winter-Quarters in *Belgium*, which finish'd *Cæsar's* fourth Year's Expedition.

Cæsar being very ambitious of enlarging the *Roman Dominions*, as well as increasing his own Reputation, resolv'd upon a second Expedition into *Britain* the next Spring, and made all necessary Preparations for it, the Natives having given him a fair Pretence by breaking their Articles with him. At the appointed time he embark'd with five Legions and 2000 Horse at *Iccius* or *Calais*, and landed in *Britain* without Opposition, where he shortly after forc'd one of their Camps with good Success. About which time News was brought him that his whole Navy was extremely endamag'd with a Storm, and some of his Ships lost; which made him retire back towards the Sea-coast, where, with vast Labour and Industry, he repair'd most of 'em in ten Days time, and wrote to *Labienus* to build more. After that he march'd against *Cassivelaun*, the General of all the *British Forces*, and after several Motions, and a bloody Battel, defeated him; which so terrify'd the Enemy, that they dared not appear in any Body against him after that. Whereupon *Cæsar* advanc'd still further, and pass'd

pass'd the *Thames* in spite of all Opposition, his Men wading up to the Neck in the Water. *Cassivelaun*, notwithstanding his reputed Valour, kept himself to the Woods and Forests; and finding that several Towns were surrender'd to *Cæsar*, and particularly his own, he also sent to him for a Treaty, who receiv'd his Submission, took Hostages, and impos'd a certain Tribute upon *Britain*: Then finding the Season far advanc'd, and apprehending the Danger of some Tumults in *Gaul*, he cross'd the Sea again, bringing back his Army with much Glory and Renown; where, with appeasing some Disturbances in those Parts, and relieving *Q Cicero*, Brother to the Orator, and one of his Lieutenants, who was besieg'd by the *Eburones*, he finish'd his fifth Year's Expedition.

The next Year *Cæsar* perceiv'd that many of the States of *Gaul* were dispos'd to a general Insurrection, in a great measure, upon the account of an imperfect Settlement of Affairs the last Year; whereupon he reinforc'd his Army with three *Roman* Legions, and as many Auxiliaries as he could well procure. He pursu'd his Business with great Vigour, and open'd the Campaign sooner than ordinary, thereby to break, or at least to weaken their Union. He soon subdu'd and reduc'd several Nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Nervii* first, and shortly after the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and the *Menapians*; while his Lieutenant *Labi- enus* reduc'd all the People about *Triers*. After this he built a Bridge and pass'd the *Rhine* a second time, by reason that several of the *Germans* had enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Gauls*; where, after he had made some Attempts upon the *Suevi* with little Success, upon the account of their flying into Woods and impassable Places, he turn'd his Arms against the *Eburones*. But while he was ravaging their Territories, the *Sigambri* crossing the *Rhine* suddenly, set upon *Cicero's* Camp, killing many, and caus'd a great Consternation among his Men, but at last were forc'd to retire at the News of *Cæsar's* Approach,

proach, who after that fell afresh upon the Country of the *Eburones*; then call'd a Council in *Gaul* for the Punishment of all Revolters, and providing his Army with all Necessaries, drew it into their Winter-Quarters; and so ended *Cæsar's* sixth Year's Expedition, in the 701st Year of the City.

U. C. IV. During these great Actions in *Gaul*, *Pompey*
700. and *Crassus*, upon the expiring of the time of their Consulships, began to take care about their several Governments that were allotted 'em. *Crassus* was extremely elevated with the Thoughts of his Expedition into *Syria* and *Parthia*, promising himself greater Success and Glory than ever *Pompey* himself; Therefore he was very forward and diligent in his Preparations. The *Tribunes* hinder'd the raising of Men as much as they cou'd, and labour'd to repeal the Laws made for their Expeditions. *Pompey* was well enough satisfy'd, sending his Lieutenants into his Provinces, being unwilling to leave the City, as he pretended, because of the general Charge of Provisions committed to him; an Honour which *Cicero*, in Recompence for his Restitution, had procur'd him from the Senate, that so he might have Authority all over the *Roman* Empire. But *Crassus* betook himself to Force; which when the *Tribunes* saw themselves unable to withstand, they desisted, but loaded him with horrible and unheard of Curses and Imprecations; and many exclaim'd against it as an unworthy thing to injure the *Parthians*, who deserv'd no Ill at the *Roman* Hands, but were now in Peace with 'em. But *Crassus* heeding no Reproaches in this Case, after he had got all Things in a readiness, set forward to his Province.

Pompey the mean time kept himself wholly to the City, still contriving how to make himself more great and powerful in his Country: But the Fame of *Cæsar's* Conquests, which daily fill'd the City, began to prove very ungrateful to him, who fearing nothing so
much

much as a Rival in Point of Glory, and therefore he set himself to do all that was in his Power to diminish the Reputation of *Cæsar*, obliging the Magistrates not to publish any Letters they receiv'd, till he had forestall'd the Credit of 'em, by spreading false and disadvantageous Reports. This gave great Cause of Trouble to many discreet and wise Persons, who foresaw the Miseries that would follow from a Rupture between two such extraordinary Persons; and what still augmented their Fears, was the Death of *Pompey's* Wife *Julia*, Daughter to *Cæsar*, which happen'd at the same time. *Pompey* most passionately lov'd her, and her Wit and Virtue had always a great Ascendant over the Dispositions both of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*: The People of *Rome* gave sufficient Testimony of the Respect they bore her by publick Demonstrations of their Sorrow; and when *Pompey* wou'd have carry'd her Body to one of his Houses near *Alba*, the People wou'd not suffer it, but bore it into the Field of *Mars*, where they bury'd it with the greatest Magnificence imaginable. From this Moment *Pompey* resolv'd to pursue nothing but his own particular Advancement; and, for the restoring himself to the Favour of the People, he caus'd a stately Theatre to be built, which he dedicated to Plays and other magnificent Shows, which were no ways pleasing to *Cicero*, as appears from one of his Epistles.

While *Pompey* was managing his Affairs at home, and *Cæsar* in the midst of *Gaul*, *Crassus* was pursuing his Expedition with all Vigour. In his Journey he march'd thro' *Jerusalem*, where he rifled the Temple of a great Treasure, to the Value of 10000 Talents, which *Pompey*, to his great Reputation, had spar'd. He spent many Days in weighing the Treasure of the Idol Goddess in *Hierapolis*, or *Edesia*, in *Syria*; and in his whole Passage he shew'd more of Covetousness than Valour, lifting many Men, and then discharging 'em again for Money. He likewise neglected his

Opportunities of falling upon the *Parthians* unprovided, despis'd the Friendship of the *Armenian* King, who gave him leave to pass thro' his Country to *Parthia*, and took no Care about the refreshing of his Men, till he had certain News of the Enemy, and neglected to pass down the River *Selucia*, as he was advis'd, where he might have been supply'd with Provisions by Water. This latter Counsel he rejected, by means of the cunning Insinuations of *Abgarus* the *Osroenian*, who having formerly been a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*, was now in the Interests of the *Parthians*, and feeding *Crassus* with Money to gild over his Treachery, gave 'em Notice of all that pass'd in the *Roman* Camp. He likewise persuaded *Crassus* to lay aside all Thoughts of *Selusias* and *Ctesiphon*, and march directly against *Surenas* the *Parthian* General. This Advice he follow'd, and thereby first losing his Son, a very hopeful Youth, he himself was circumvented by *Surenas*, under Pretence of a Treaty, and either slain by his Enemies, or kill'd by some of his own Men, to prevent his falling into their Hands. His Men were miserably slaughter'd to the Number of 20000, besides 10000 taken, and his Head carry'd to *Orodes* King of *Parthia*, who caus'd melted Gold to be pour'd into his Mouth, crying, *Now satisfy thy self with Gold, of which thou always hast been so unsatiably greedy.*

Thus fell *Crassus* in the first Year after his setting out, one of the richest Men in all the *Roman* Empire, and by this, one of the Heads of the *Triumvirate* was cut off. This laid the Foundation of the following Civil War between the other two; for while he liv'd, he was a Check to 'em both, and balanc'd their Interests; but after this, an open Field was left for their Ambition and Emulation to work in. This happen'd in the 701st Year of the City, nigh seven Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 51 before our Saviour's Nativity, *A. M.* 3952.



C H A P. II.

From the Death of Crassus, to the Death of Pompey, which made Way for Cæsar's Absolute Authority, and was the second Step to the Imperial State.

Containing above five Years Space

TH E same Year that *Crassus* was slain, most violent Disturbances and Dissentions were rais'd in the City, Factions daily increasing, nothing manag'd with the antient Equity and Moderation, and all Offices purchas'd with Bribes and Money, or else gain'd by Swords and Clubs. The Consuls, finding themselves debarr'd by the Power of the *Triumvirate*, from waging War and leading Armies as formerly, made it their sole Business to enrich themselves out of the Publick Revenues, or from the Bribes as well as the Salaries depending upon their Offices. *Pompey* conniv'd at all this, hoping that the Infirmities of the State would occasion him to be created *Dictator*; and for that Reason he retir'd himself for a while; that his Friends might have a fair Opportunity of insinuating the Necessity of his Presence, as well as Authority, for the preserving of the Peace of the City. At the time for the new Election of Magistrates, there was such a violent Contention among the Candidates, that for eight entire Months none cou'd be elected. And what still heighten'd these Mischiefs, was the Death of *Clodius*, kill'd by his great Enemy *Milo*. who met him by accident by his Country-house. The Body was immediately brought to *Rome*, and expos'd all bloody to the People, who caus'd great Disturbances among the Multitude, who immediately ran furiously to *Milo's* House to set it on Fire; but he being well provided to receive 'em, repuls'd and kill'd several of the Assailants. Upon which they return'd to the Body, where

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where they pull'd all the Magistrates Seats in pieces, made a Funeral Pile of 'em, and set Fire to it with so much Rage, that all the stately Buildings where the Senate us'd to assemble, was burnt with *Clodius's* Body. After this, the Mutineers dispers'd themselves all over the City, where, under Pretence of searching for *Milo's* Friends, they committed the most insupportable Violences imaginable ; so that the whole City was fill'd with Murthers and Quarrels, till no body durst walk the Streets unarm'd.

These fatal Mischiefs turn'd all Men's Eyes upon *Pompey*, as the fittest Person to redress all ; but while they were consulting about creating him *Dictator*, *Cato* by many Persuasions procur'd the Senate to make him *Consul* alone, that so, if occasion were, he might be afterwards accountable for any Male-administration. This was soon after done, having the Authority of a *Dictator* conferr'd on him under a gentler Name ; a thing never known in *Rome* before, but upon some extraordinary Occasion, and for some few Days, when Commission was sometimes given to the Consuls, *To take care that the Commonwealth receive no Damage.* New Troops were allotted to *Pompey*, 1000 Talents allow'd yearly for their Pay, and the Government of *Spain* was continu'd to him for four Years longer, which he administer'd by his Deputies. *Milo* was shortly after accus'd by *Appius*, *Clodius's* Brother ; and though *Cicero* himself undertook to defend him, yet it happen'd, that by his Fear of *Pompey's* Soldiers, who surrounded him as he was pleading, he was put out in his Speech ; and so *Milo*, for his Insolence, was banish'd : And when *Cicero* afterwards sent him his Oration in Writing, the Excellency of it made him answer, *That it was happy for him that Cicero was out in his Harangue, for otherwise he shou'd not have liv'd so well at Marseilles as now he did ;* for that was the Place of his Exile. *Pompey* having hitherto executed the Office of a *Dictator*, took *Scipio Metellus* for his Colleague, whose Daughter

ter *Cornelia* he had lately marry'd, a Lady of no less Accomplishments than Beauty. This considerably strengthen'd *Pompey's* Interests, who therefore now thought it no ways difficult to overthrow the Fortunes of *Cæsar*, waiting only till Affairs were somewhat more ripe for Execution: But *Cæsar* by his great Policy and Industry, by his noble Exploits abroad, and his bountiful Presents at home, still secur'd himself a sufficient Party in the City. He caus'd a new *Forum* to be set up at *Rome*, the Place whereof cost him 100000 Sesterces: He gave also to the People certain Plays, and a Publick Feast, in Acknowledgment of the Honours done to his Daughter *Julia*, being likewise a particular Encourager of Learning. At this time, among many other learn'd Men flourish'd *Sallust*, a most excellent *Historian*, both for *Matter* and *Stile*.

Cæsar had now almost compleated his Conquests in *Gaul*, when the Troubles in *Rome*, and his Absence occasion'd many of the Nations to endeavour once more the Recovery of their Liberty, pursuing their Designs with greater Vigour than ever, chusing *Vercingetorix* for their General. *Cæsar* resolving to lose no time, forc'd his way over the Mountains, thro' vast deep Snows; and after some various Success against the Enemies numerous Armies, he overthrew *Vercingetorix*, who, upon that, retir'd to *Alesia*, a City of the *Mandubii*, shutting himself up with no less than 80000 Men, and made all necessary Provisions for a Siege. *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the Hazard of such an Attempt, shortly after invested the Place; and here he shew'd an admirable Skill and indefatigable Industry, in his vast and prodigious Works he rais'd against this Place, both to defend himself, and distress the Town; well knowing the great Numbers of the Succours that were marching to relieve it. For tho' the City, by the extraordinary Height of its Walls, and the Multitude of its Defendants, appear'd to be impregnable, he encounter'd with greater Difficulties without, being in a short time besieg'd

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besieg'd himself by 250000 of the choicest of the *Gauls*. Yet by means of his double and treble Trenches, his mighty Lines of Contravallation, and his wonderful Management and Vigilance, he repuls'd the Relievers, and soon after he became Master of the Town, to his great Honour and Reputation, all other Places submitting without Delay. And thus ended *Cæsar's* seventh Years Expedition in these Parts, which, as it was the most hazardous and dangerous, so it was the most honourable and glorious that ever he undertook.

The *Gauls*, notwithstanding their great Losses, and the irresistible Power of *Cæsar's* Arms, resolv'd to try their Fortune once more, and many of their Nations join'd again in Confederacy. *Cæsar* having Intelligence of their Designs, began his March from *Bibraſte*, and made great Devastations throughout the Territories of the *Bituriges* in *Aquitain*, and subdu'd several of the People about those Parts. *C. Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, also reduc'd some Parties of 'em in the mean time, and *Caninius*, another of his Lieutenants, defeated likewise several other Parties; after which *Cæsar* join'd him, and invested *Uxellodunum*, a City of the *Cadurci*, a Place very strong by Situation; yet he obtain'd it with little or no Bloodshed, by turning the Course of the Springs that supply'd the Place with Water. After this the rest of the Places in *Aquitain* submitted, and going to *Narbonne*, he then dispos'd his Men into their Winter-Quarters, in such a manner, that they prov'd very useful to him afterwards in the Civil Wars. And this finish'd *Cæsar's* eighth and last Year's Expedition in *Gaul*, and all the Parts thereabouts, after a long and almost uninterrupted Course of many glorious Conquests and noble Victories, to the mighty Increase of his own Honour and Renown, and the great Enlargement of the *Roman* Dominions and Riches, as well as the Terror of their Name and Authority.

II. Now the Jealousies between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* began to be more conspicuous than ever, and well might

might a Rupture be expected, when two Persons, the greatest that ever *Rome* produc'd, were become Rivals in Glory; especially when their Tempers were such, that the latter could not endure an Equal, nor the former a Superior. *Cæsar* had now rais'd himself to an extraordinary Height both as to Riches and Reputation; then the Grandeur of his Mein, his unbounded Generosity, and his noble Actions, had intirely engag'd the Affections of his Soldiers to him, who all lov'd him almost to Adoration. Again, a great many of the Senators stood oblig'd to him for considerable Sums of Money, which he had lent 'em without Interest: He entertain'd with Magnificence all such as serv'd under him, even to the very Slaves; and his Army was a Refuge to all manner of Criminals, and such as were much in Debt, a great many of which he discharg'd at his own Expence; but for some whose Debts were larger than ordinary, he us'd to say, *That one Civil War wou'd make all even.* All this was done at *Gaul's* Expence, which might occasion this Observation, *That Cæsar conquer'd the Gauls with the Roman Steel, and the Romans with the Gallick Gold.* *Pompey* had observ'd, that *Cæsar* in his Consulship had render'd himself very distastful to the Senate, therefore he made it his Business by his outward Carriage and fair Deemeanour, to gain their Favour, which he did with good Success. *Cæsar* was aware of this, and for that Reason endeavour'd vigorously for the Consulship in his Absence, and likewise to procure his Government to be prolong'd, trying all Ways and Methods to keep his Army till he cou'd get to be chosen Consul. But he soon found that this Affair did not succeed according to his Wish, being chiefly hinder'd by *Marcus Marcellus*, one of the present Consuls, and his great Enemy. Tho' he was sufficiently sensible of *Pompey's* Jealousy, he resolv'd to endeavour once more to preserve his Friendship; therefore offer'd him his Niece *Octavia*, and demanded *Pompey's* Daughter for himself; but *Pompey* thought fit to make choice of

of an Alliance with *Scipio*, whom he join'd with him in the Consular Dignity for the last five Months.

The first publick Appearance of the Division began from *Pompey's* two Laws, publish'd in his Consulship; the first being, *To enquire into the Miscarriages of Officers for twenty Years last past*; and the latter, *To forbid all absent Persons to demand any publick Employment*; both which were design'd against *Cæsar*. But still no great Violence was us'd, but all was manag'd with extreme Artifice and Cunning till the Election of the new Consuls, who were *Æmilius Paulus*, and *Calidius Marcellus*, a Kinsman of *Marcus*. Now every one with great Impatience expected to find how the Consuls would declare themselves; the first had been well secur'd by a large Present of 1500 Talents from *Cæsar*; but *Calidius* was *Cæsar's* Enemy, and being carry'd on by the same Spirit with his Kinsman *Marcus*, follow'd also his Methods. *Curio* was likewise one of the Tribunes, a Person of the highest Fame for his Eloquence and Pleadings, and of great Parts and Resolution, but now much burthen'd with Debts both for himself and others, and particularly for *Marcus Antonius*, one of his Colleagues. *Curio* had been one of the most violent against *Cæsar's* Interest; but *Cæsar*, who well knew all his unhappy Circumstances, quickly found a way to bring him over, by furnishing him with means to quit himself of those Incumbrances. *Curio*, after this, made use of Practices very refin'd, forbearing to declare himself of *Cæsar's* Party, the better to penetrate the Designs of the other Party, and after that sought an Opportunity to break with *Pompey*. In order to which, he demanded to have the Charge of the High-ways conferred upon him, altho' he knew it wou'd be deny'd him; and upon refusal, he shew'd his Resentment; and soon after, when *Marcellus* the Consul propos'd with great Earnestness the recalling *Cæsar* from his Government, *Curio* applauded his Wisdom, adding withal, *That it was but Justice that Pompey and Cæsar should be both call'd*

call'd from their Governments together. All apprehended the meaning of this Proposal ; and *Pompey's* Friends began to be very troublesome to *Curio*, particularly *Appius*, one of the Censors, who threaten'd to expel him the Senate, and propos'd it in one of the Assemblies. *Curio* submitted to any thing decreed against himself in particular, but would yield to nothing where *Cæsar's* Interest was struck at, and the Consul *Æmilius* secur'd him from the Affront offer'd him by *Appius*.

Curio resolving not to be discourag'd, made the same Proposal to the People as he had done to the Senate, which was receiv'd with the greatest Applause imaginable ; and as a further Testimony of their Satisfaction, they gave Power to *Cæsar* to demand the Consulship without removing out of his Province. This caus'd *Pompey* to leave the City, under Pretence of going to his Government ; but he really went no further than a Country House of his, where falling sick, he wrote to the Senate, *That he was ready to resign all his Employments, when Cæsar did the like, which he wou'd confirm upon his return to Rome.* *Curio* immediately took this Advantage, and told him, *It was his Duty to begin what he propos'd, and he would engage that his Example shou'd be follow'd by Cæsar.* The Matter was then publickly debated, but ended only in an Order, that two Legions shou'd be drawn out of *Cæsar's* and *Pompey's* Army to be sent against the *Parthians* ; and this was only to weaken *Cæsar's* Army, for *Pompey* likewise demanded the Legions which he had formerly lent him. *Cæsar* immediately apprehended the Reason of this Order, and *Pompey's* Designs ; nevertheless he made no Opposition, but surrender'd two Legions, generously giving each Man five and twenty Crowns. *Cicero* at this time return'd to *Rome* from his Government of *Cilicia*, where he pretended for his great Exploits, to have merited the Honour of a Triumph. His Absence had hinder'd him from joining with either Party, and his present

present Pretensions oblig'd him to be a Mediator between both, but no Proposals of Accommodation would be hearken'd to ; for *Appius*, returning from *Cæsar's* Army, publish'd abroad, *That his Soldiers had no Esteem for him, and that they would certainly come over to the Senate's Party, whenever they recover'd this side of the Alps.* This Relation gave *Pompey* great Confidence, so that *Cicero* could not be heard : And when he afterwards ask'd *Pompey* what Forces he had to oppose *Cæsar*, his Answer was, *That he need but stamp with his Foot, and an Army would start out of the Earth.* Many of the Senators began to talk very meanly of *Cæsar*, and *Cato* himself scornfully declar'd, *That he wou'd bring him to an Account for his Actions, and that he shou'd be treated as Milo had been before him.*

Cæsar often writ to the Senate, to desire to be continu'd in his Government, as *Pompey* had been, or be recall'd both at the same time, or else be permitted to stand for the Consulship by Proxy. These Proposals being rejected, he repass'd the *Alps* with the third Legion, and march'd to *Ravenna*, from whence he writ a Letter to the new Consuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Clodius Mercellus*, wherein, after an honourable mention made of his own Exploits, he signify'd, *That he was ready to resign all his Power, in case Pompey did the like ; otherwise they might reasonably expect, that he cou'd not be wholly insensible of the Injury that wou'd be done him, as well as his Country.* Great Debates, and violent Dissentions were rais'd about this Letter ; but after a long time spent, a Decree was at last issu'd out, *That Cæsar shou'd disband his Forces within such a time, and if he refus'd Obedience, he shou'd be declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth.* And tho' this Decree was much oppos'd by many, yet immediately after follow'd another, publish'd only in Cases of Extremity, *That the Consuls and other Magistrates shou'd take care that the Commonwealth receiv'd no Damage ; and Pompey was order'd to command what Troops were in a readiness.* From that moment

moment a Successor was order'd to *Cæsar*, which was *Domitius*; and all were up in Arms in *Rome*. *Cæsar* receiv'd a speedy account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony* and *Longinus*, who fled to him in Slaves Habits, in which Condition he shew'd 'em to his Army, telling his Men, *That the Senate had dealt basely and ungratefully by him, who had done 'em so many eminent Services, as well as unjustly and inhumanly by his Friends, whose Persons were sacred by their Office, but were now forc'd to conceal themselves under the mean Habits of Slavery, to shun the Fury of his Enemies; and all for maintaining those undoubted Rights, which even raging Sylla durst never violate.* In fine, tearing his Robes, and falling into Tears, he conjur'd all his Soldiers, *That they wou'd defend his Honour and Reputation, after their serving nine Years under him with so much Glory and Renown.* The Soldiers all with loud Acclamations answer'd him, *That they were ready to revenge all Injuries done to their General*; and thus began the famous Civil War, about four Years after the Death of *Crassus*.

III. Among the many Warlike Qualities of *Cæsar*, his Diligence in preventing an Enemy, and pursuing a Victory, was the most admirable; and here he found it most necessary, since he had to deal with a Commander far more expert than any he had hitherto been engag'd with; therefore his utmost Skill and Policy was to be made use of at this Juncture. He first sent a choice Party of Men, arm'd only with Swords, to put themselves as secretly as possible into *Arminium*, the first City of his Province. He himself spent his time at *Ravenna*, in seeing the Combat of the Gladiators; and when Night came, sat down at the Table with his Friends, but soon rose again, desiring 'em to make themselves welcome, and he wou'd be with 'em in a moment; but he had secretly order'd some Mules to be put in his Chariot, in which Equipage he set forward towards *Arminium*, with some few of his particular Friends he had order'd to follow him several ways, and one Legion, which was all he had there. It was a troublesome Journey; but they resolv'd to undergo it; so sometimes on Foot,

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and sometimes in his Chariot, *Cæsar* arriv'd upon the Banks of the *Rubicon*, a little River which parted *Cis-alpine Gaul* from the rest of *Italy*. Here he began to have some Remorse, and all the Misfortunes of the succeeding War presented themselves to his melancholy Mind, which put him upon considering, what Posterity wou'd think of this Passage. Sometimes he had Thoughts of going back, and turning himself to *Asinius Pollio*, 'Tis now in our Power, says he, to return; but if we pass this fatal River, our only Retreat must be to our Arms. Some Authors say, That just by the Place where he stood, of a sudden there appear'd a Man of extraordinary Stature, who made excellent Musick with a Reed he play'd upon; which uncommon Sight drew many of the Soldiers to him, amongst the rest, a Trumpeter, from whom this Man snatch'd his Trumpet, and sounding a Charge with a more violent Blast than ordinary, threw himself into the Water, and pass'd over to the other side. *Cæsar*, without further Consideration, pass'd the River, crying, *Let us go where the Gods so loudly call, and the Fury of our Enemies drive us!* From thence he march'd directly to *Arminium*, and possess'd himself of it without Resistance: So with 6000 Men only he began that famous War, sending Orders to the rest of his Troops to follow with all possible Diligence.

This unexpected Enterprize gave most dreadful Apprehensions to the City of *Rome*, every one imagining *Cæsar* at the Gates with all his Army; and it was an odd Confusion to see the Country People running to the City for safety, and the Citizens flying into the Country for security. *Pompey* himself was amaz'd, and *Cicero* under great difficulties, as appear'd by his *Epistles* upon this occasion; but what was the greatest Trouble to *Pompey*, was the biting and reflecting Words of many of his own Party, some laying Indiscretion to his charge, others Injustice; and *Favonius*, a crack-brain'd Philosopher, and a pretended Imitator of *Cato*, bad him stamp with his Foot and produce his Armies as he had promis'd

promis'd. At last *Pompey* told 'em, That they should not want an Army, if they wou'd follow him: That it was neither their Houses nor their Provinces that cou'd inspire 'em with the Love of Vertue and of Liberty, but Men of Honour might find it in all Retreats; and that their following him wou'd be the only way to put 'em in a Condition of returning to their Houses with Glory. The Consideration of the present Danger, made 'em resolve to quit the City; so the Consuls, and almost all the Senate, with great Precipitation, follow'd him to *Capua*, where were the two Legions which *Cæsar* had sent from *Gaul*. *Pompey* with all Diligence put his Affairs in order, and resolv'd to retire towards *Brundisium*. He left *L. Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to command in *Capua*, who receiv'd his Commission with some Reluctancy; *Pompey's* Affairs seem'd to be in a better Posture by *Labienus's* leaving *Cæsar*, and coming over to him, which he did upon some Discontent, expecting to have been made Equal with *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* seem'd little to value that, but either through Policy or Generosity, sent all his Money and Equipage after him. Still *Pompey* thought it most convenient to send to *Cæsar* with Proposals of Accommodation, which he did by *Lucius Cæsar* his Kinsman, and *Roscius* the *Prætor*. But the Demands on both sides could not be agreed upon, for *Pompey's* Business was only to gain time, having his chief Reliance upon the Forces of the *East*, which were absolutely in his Interest. *Cæsar* too depending upon the Valour and Affection of his Soldiers, had no Design of quitting his Arms, but only to make it appear as fairly as he cou'd, that he had taken 'em up with Justice.

Cæsar now, without losing any further time, seiz'd upon the Towns of *Picenum*, which lay in his way, and in a very short time became Master of all that Province. This Progress redoubled the Fears at *Rome*, and *Lentulus*, who was come back to seize the publick Treasure, was oblig'd to betake himself to flight. In the mean time the twelfth Legion came to join *Cæ-*

far, who march'd to *Asculum*, which *Lentulus* had possess'd himself of, with ten Cohorts; but upon *Cæsar's* Approach, retreated in Confusion, a great Part of his Soldiers deserting him, as they had done *Curio* not long before. *Cæsar* march'd directly after *Pompey*, not offering to attack *Rome*, as knowing it would fall of Course to the Conqueror; and the first Place that made any Resistance was *Corfinium*, the Metropolis of the Country of the *Peligni*, which was possess'd by *Domitius*, who had lately rais'd 20 Cohorts out of those Parts. Now as this was the first Town that durst make Head against *Cæsar*, all Persons, with great Impatience, expected the Success of the Enterprize. *Cæsar* made his Approaches with two Legions, and was engag'd by five Cohorts, who defended a Bridge about three Miles from the City; but were soon driven back to the Gates of *Corfinium*, which thereupon was immediately invested. *Domitius* prepar'd himself for a vigorous Defence, and wrote to *Pompey*, That now he had a fair Opportunity to hem in *Cæsar*, if he would come up; That it wou'd not be for his Reputation to leave so many Senators and Knights which were now besieg'd, as well as so many Soldiers, to the Mercy of the Enemy. *Pompey's* Answer was, That he was not then in a Condition to hazard all in a Battle; that *Domitius* had engag'd himself in *Corfinium* contrary to his Opinion, and therefore he ought to think of making as fair and speedy a Retreat as was possible. Upon this Refusal it was that *Cicero* became so angry with *Pompey*, as appears from one of his Epistles to *Atticus*.

Domitius conceal'd *Pompey's* Answer, giving out, that *Pompey* would bring speedy Relief; But at the same time consulted with his Friends how to make a private Retreat; which being at last discover'd, his Men seiz'd on him, and sent to *Cæsar*, offering to deliver him up, and surrender the Place. *Cæsar* concluded the Offer ought not to be rejected, but however kept his Men from entering that Night, to prevent
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all Violences. *Lentulus* being in the Town, came out to him, and humbly begg'd Pardon, putting him in mind of their ancient Friendship, and acknowledging the many Favours he had formerly receiv'd at his Hands. *Cæsar* interrupting him, told him, *That he came not from his Province to injure any Man, but for his own Security, and the Restoration of the Tribunes Office, and the Liberty of Rome.* *Lentulus*, sufficiently encourag'd by this Answer, desir'd Leave to return into the Town to give the like Encouragement to others who were now desperate as to their Fortunes; and the next Day *Cæsar* sent to the *Senators* and *Knights* who were in Town, with their Children, and the Officers of the Garrison, to come forth. All these he protected from the Insolence of the Soldiers, and having a little insisted upon the point of Ingratitude, he gave 'em all their Liberty to go where they pleas'd; and to shew that he as little sought after Money as the Lives of his Enemies, he restor'd to *Domitius* 6000 Sesterces, which he had deposited in the Bank at *Corfinium*, though he was satisfy'd that it was Publick Money, and given out by *Pompey* to pay Soldiers. He caus'd *Domitius's* Men to take the Military Oath to himself, and after seven Days Respite at *Corfinium*, he march'd through the Confines of the *Marrucini*, *Tarentini*, and *Larinates*, and then enter'd *Apulia*.

Pompey having Intelligence of what pass'd at *Corfinium*, immediately retreated to *Brundisium*, where the Consuls strait embark'd for *Dyrrachium* in *Epirus* with thirty Cohorts, *Pompey* continuing in the Town with twenty others. *Cæsar* shortly after arriv'd before the Place, and having taken *Magius*, an Engineer of *Pompey's*, freely set him at Liberty, with Orders to tell his General, *That it might be for the common Interests of 'em both, as well as the Good of the Republick, for them two to have an Interview, and not to trust Matters to a third Person.* *Magius* brought him no Answer back, which caus'd *Cæsar* to endeavour the blocking up the Entry of the Port. To this purpose he order'd a Bank or Dam to

be rais'd on each side the Haven, where it was narrowest, and the Water shallow enough ; but where it was too deep, he caus'd several Vessels to be fasten'd together thirty Foot square, moor'd with Anchors at each Corner, and plac'd 'em over-against the Entry of the Haven, with design to form a sort of a Stacade or Chain : The first Bridge of these Vessels was cover'd with Earth and green Turf, that the Defendants might have firm Footing to fight upon, and the two Sides were furnish'd with Hurdles in the nature of Parapets, and every fourth Float carry'd a Tower two Stories high, to defend the Works from Attacks and from Fire. It was easy to judge for what Design all this great Labour and Pains was undertaken ; therefore *Pompey* endeavour'd to ruin the Works, and to that purpose made use of several Merchant-Ships that were then in the Haven ; upon which he rais'd Towers of three Stories high, furnish'd with Engines and all sorts of Darts. These he sent against *Cæsar's* Vessels, hoping to separate 'em, and hinder the Continuation of the Work, which occasion'd daily some little Skirmishes with Darts and Arrows.

Cæsar was still forward enough to come to an Accommodation, and sent to have an Interview with *Pompey* : But Answer was return'd, *That the Consuls being absent, no Propositions of that kind cou'd be receiv'd.* From this time he set his Thoughts wholly upon the War, half his Business being already compleated, by reason the Vessels which transported the Consuls were return'd from *Dyrrachium*, which Opportunity *Pompey* thought fit to make use of for withdrawing himself ; and to secure his Retreat, he caus'd all the Gates of the City to be wall'd up, and several Houses to be demolish'd in the cross Streets. The Avenues of the Port were cut off by certain Pits, fill'd with Stakes, and cover'd with Hurdles and Earth, two only being left free, and those strongly defended with Pallisadoes and Joist, planted after the manner of Fraize. After these Precautions, he caus'd his Soldiers to embark with all imaginable Silence,

lence, leaving only some Archers and Slingers upon the Walls, who were order'd to make their Retreat in small Boats on purpose, as soon as his Soldiers were got on board. The Inhabitants of the Town, provok'd by the Ruin of their Houses, advis'd *Cæsar* of their Retreat, who immediately put his Troops into Order, and order'd Ladders to be planted at the same moment that *Pompey* would give the Signal to his Archers, who notwithstanding secur'd their Retreat by certain private Paths which they were acquainted with: So that *Pompey* got all his Troops on board, and immediately weigh'd Anchor: *Cæsar's* Men got over the Walls, and had fallen into the Pits prepar'd for 'em, had not timely warning from the Inhabitants prevented it. This was a considerable stop to 'em, but not so great but they had time enough, with some small Vessels, to seize upon two of *Pompey's* Ships, which through haste had run themselves aground, while the rest made what Sail they cou'd, and sav'd themselves. Thus did *Pompey* with great Skill and Diligence make his Escape; and thus did *Cæsar* in 60 Days time become Master of all *Italy* with little or no Bloodshed.

IV. *Cæsar* finding he cou'd not follow *Pompey* for want of Shipping, resolv'd to pass over into *Spain* to drive out *Pompey's* Troops, all old Soldiers, under the Command of *Afranius* and *Petreius*; but first he design'd for *Rome*, to settle there some sort of Government. He likewise sent a considerable Force into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; the one kept by *Cato*, and the other by *Aurelius Cotta*, but both were abandon'd by them upon the Arrival of *Cæsar's* Troops. *Cæsar* in his Journey to *Rome* gave *Cicero* a Visit, but could not persuade him to go thither with him, tho' much Civility pass'd between 'em. Upon his Arrival at *Rome*, he compos'd a Body of such Senators as he found there, and call'd them the Senate; and when they were assembled, made 'em a plausible Speech in Justification of all his Actions; then he propos'd the sending of Ambassadors to *Pompey*; but finding none

to undertake that Office, he began to consider about furnishing himself with Money, and his Recourse was to the publick Treasury, which he wou'd have had open'd; but *Metellus* the Tribune boldly oppos'd him in that, alledging, *That the Money was sacred, that the Law forbid it, and horrible Imprecations had been denounced against such as touch'd it upon any Occasion but the Gallick War.* To which *Cæsar* reply'd, *That Arms and Laws seldom agreed well together, and that he had remov'd the former Reasons by reducing all Gaul to the Roman Obedience;* and immediately went to the Doors of the Treasury, but the Keys cou'd not be found; whereupon *Cæsar* sent to the People to break open the Locks; and when *Metellus* had still the Boldness to dispute it with him, in a great Rage he laid his Hand upon his Sword, threatening to kill him, with these Words; *Know, young Man, that it is harder for me to say this than to do it:* Which so terrify'd *Metellus*, that he retir'd. *Cæsar* took out 3000 Pound Weight of Gold out of the Treasury, and ever after that, had the Treasury at his Command in all his Wars.

After this *Cæsar* departed from *Rome* upon his *Spanish Expedition*, and knowing all *Pompey's* Circumstances, said with his usual Confidence, *That he went to find an Army without a General, and then he wou'd come back to find a General without an Army.* He receiv'd News in *Provence*, that the People of *Marseilles* had resolv'd to refuse him Entrance, that *Domitius* had got thither with seven Gallies fill'd with Slaves, Libertines, and Peasants that belong'd to his Lands, and that the *Marseillians* had call'd down all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Mountains to their Assistance. When *Cæsar* sent to 'em to submit, they return'd for Answer, *That they resolv'd to take part with neither Cæsar nor Pompey, to both whom they had equal Obligations.* *Cæsar*, incensed at their Proceedings, immediately besieg'd the Town with three Legions, and order'd twelve Ships of War to be built at *Arles*, which were compleated in a Month, and brought before *Marseilles*. *Cæsar* finding the Siege
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like to be very tedious, left *D. Brutus* to command the Ships, and *C. Trebonius* to carry on the Siege, and so departed for *Spain* with all speed, where *Fabius*, whom he had sent before, join'd him with three Legions, which, together with his own Forces, made a noble Army. Upon a Report in that Country, That *Pompey* was coming by way of *Mauritania* to command his Troops in Person, *Cæsar* us'd extream Diligence; and to assure himself of his Men, he borrow'd Money of all his Officers, which he distributed among his Soldiers, by that means engaging his Officers by their own Interests, and his Soldiers by his Liberality. *Afranius* and *Petreius* were then posted nigh the City *Ilerda* in *Catalonia*, with sufficient Forces. *Cæsar* advanc'd towards 'em, and encamp'd along the River *Segre*, over which *Fabius* had laid two Bridges; but endeavouring to get between the River *Herde* and the Enemies Camp, a bloody Contest ensu'd, which continu'd for many Hours, in which *Cæsar's* Men were much surpriz'd with the Enemies irregular way of Fighting, fearing to be hemm'd in; till by *Cæsar's* encouraging 'em, they press'd forward into a dangerous Place, which they still maintain'd for five Hours, and then retreated in good Order, both Parties attributed to themselves the Honour of the Victory; *Cæsar* for driving the Enemy before him, and *Afranius* for keeping the Post for which they fought.

Afranius had greater Appearance of Advantage shortly after; for the continual Rains carry'd away *Cæsar's* two Bridges, and hinder'd the River from being fordable any where: Which reduc'd him to great Streights, not being able to get Provisions, nor to join a Supply of Forces that came to him from *Gaul*, nor yet to rebuild his Bridges, by reason of the Violence of the Stream, and the Opposition he met with from the Enemy, who lay on the other side of the River. The News of this gave such great Hopes of *Pompey's* Party at *Rome*, that they went in great Numbers to
Afranius's

Afranius's Wife, to congratulate her Husband's good Fortune; and several of the Senators, who were Neuters before, went over to *Pompey*, and among them *Cicero* himself, though he took an Opportunity of leaving him again shortly after. But all these great Hopes vanish'd by means of *Cæsar's* extraordinary Diligence, who caus'd flight Boats cover'd with Leather to be made; and while the Enemy were diverted, by endeavouring to intercept some *Gauls* who were coming to join him, he carry'd the Boats in Waggon's twenty Miles distant from his Camp, put 'em upon the River, and with a wonderful Quickness and Dexterity caus'd his Legions to pass the River; by which means he re-built the Bridges. Thus he re-establish'd his Passage, got Provisions, join'd the Forces which came to his Assistance, by his great Skill astonish'd the Enemy, and gain'd so much Reputation, as, together with the News of *Brutus's* beating the *Marseillians* by Sea, gain'd him five considerable Towns, and made several others capitulate. *Cæsar*, who spar'd no Pains to distress his Enemies, threw up divers Intrenchments and Ditches, in order to cut off the Water from their Camp; and to make the *Segre* fordable. *Afranius* and *Petreius* dreading the Success of this Enterprize, after several Motions of both Armies, resolv'd to reach *Ostogesa*, situated on the *Iberus*, where they had sent a Party before to lay a Bridge over. In order to this Design, they decamp'd at Midnight; but *Cæsar* sent his Cavalry after 'em, and oblig'd 'em to ford the River before they could come at their Bridge; then leaving his Baggage in his Camp, he suddenly cross'd the River with his Infantry, and pursu'd them so close, that they cou'd neither reach their intended Place, nor return to their former Camp. By which means he reduc'd 'em to such Extremities of Hunger and Drought, that they were all oblig'd to yield to his Mercy without any Bloodshed.

Cæsar, to shew his kind and generous Temper, dismiss'd 'em all, and satisfy'd 'em with incredible Courtesies,

refies, such as were never practis'd elsewhere towards Enemies. And in a short time after he became Master of all *Spain*, sending back his Enemies loaden with Shame and Obligations, to publish his extraordinary Clemency and Valour, while he himself departed for *Marseilles*, which was then just upon the Point of yielding. Upon *Cæsar's* Arrival they capitulated: During which Time *Domitius* made his Escape by Sea; *Cæsar* pardon'd the Inhabitants more upon the Account of their Name and Antiquity, as he told 'em, than for any other Merit, and leaving two Legions in Garrison, he departed for *Rome*. Upon his Arrival there, he was receiv'd with great Satisfaction by most People, and made *Dictator* by *M. Lepidus* the *Prætor*; but finding this Office not well lik'd of, he laid it down after holding of it 11 Days, and caus'd himself to be chosen Consul with *Servilius Isauricus*. His Design was now to procure himself as many Friends as possible; in pursuance of which purpose he preferr'd several favourable Laws; the first was concerning the borrowing of Money for the War, which, as it usually happens, having ruin'd almost all Credit, and render'd a great many Men incapable of Payment, *Cæsar* order'd, that an Estimate should be made of Inheritances, at the same Value they bore before the War, and that Creditors should take them accordiug to his Estimation; by which means he took away the Fears of a general Bankruptcy, and supported the Credit of the Debtors. Besides, he brought over to his Party all such as expected to be favour'd in this general Valuation, which was the principal Design of the Law. The other Law was, for the calling home those who had been condemn'd during *Pompey's* presiding in the passing Sentences of Justice. *Cæsar* likewise made several other Ordinances, and after having quitted the Name and Dignity of *Dictator*, departed for *Brundisium* to go against *Pompey*, before which time he receiv'd the bad News of the Defeat and Death of *Curio*, whom he had sent against *Varus*, *Pompey's* Lieutenant in *Africk*.

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V. *Pompey*, after his Departure from *Italy* into *Epirus* and *Greece*, had made all possible Preparations for Resistance, drawing over all the *East* to his Interest; and during the time of *Cæsar's* being at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, had gather'd together very powerful Armies both by Sea and Land. His Land Forces consisted of 9 *Italian* Legions effective, besides the two which *Scipio*, his Brother-in-Law, brought him; and the Auxiliaries from the *Eastern* Countries of 7000 Horse, 3000 Archers, and 8 Cohorts of Slingers: These Troops were distributed into *Dyrrachium* and *Appollonia*, and over all that Coast, to oppose the coming down of *Cæsar*. And more than this, he had prepar'd a noble Fleet of 500 large Ships, besides Gallies, Brigantines, and other lesser Vessels; all which were commanded in chief by *Bibulus*, who executed the Office of Admiral: Besides these Forces, *Pompey* had drawn great Sums of Money out of *Asia* and *Greece*; and to recompence himself in some measure for the loss of *Spain*, had caus'd *Dolabella* and *Caius Antonius*, who commanded for *Cæsar* on the Coast of *Illyricum*, to be attack'd, and with that Success, that the former was driven out, and the latter taken. These Advantages, which daily kept up the Reputation of *Pompey's* Party, still engag'd more Persons of Consideration to come and join themselves with him, so that he found he had in his Camp above 200 Senators, whereof he compos'd a Body, and they assembled themselves in the Form of a Senate. With these *M. Brutus* had join'd himself, not for any Respect to *Pompey*, whom he hated; but that severe Vertue, of which he made Profession, and the Example of his Uncle, and Father-in-law *Cato*, had engag'd him in that Party, which he thought had the most Justice on its side. In one of their Assemblies, by the politick Advice of *Cato*, it was determin'd, That no *Roman* Citizen should be put to Death out of Battle, and that no Town subject to the *Roman* Empire shou'd be plunder'd. In effect, this laudable Decree drew the good Wishes of the People upon the Honourable

nourable Authors of it, and gain'd the Reputation of great Justice and Humanity to their Designs, and likewise was the Occasion that the Fortune of *Cæsar* hung for a long time doubtful, and was afterwards made use of to justify his Death.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages on *Cæsar's* side, he proceeded with an uncommon Vigour, and undaunted Courage, and rendevouzing at *Brundisium*, he, without any delay, shipp'd off 5 of his 12 Legions, which amounted to no more than 20000 Foot and 6000 Horse at this time; the rest were oblig'd to stay behind for want of Shipping. *Cæsar* very much encourag'd his Men, telling 'em what glorious Actions they were going to undertake; and in spite of the Rigour of the Season, upon the 4th of *Jan.* he weigh'd Anchor. This much surpriz'd the Officers of *Pompey's* Fleet, to find him venture so boldly thro' the Dangers both of the Weather and their Navies. But *Cæsar* tim'd it so well, that he made his Passage in one Day, and landed his Men at a Place call'd *Pharsalus*, not daring to venture into any known Port, which he believ'd to be possess'd by the Enemy. Having once got to Land, he sent back all the Ships to transport the rest of his Legions under the Command of *Calpus*; but in their Passage 30 of 'em fell into the Hands of *Bibulus*, *Pompey's* Admiral, who, sensible of his former Neglect, in a great Passion, set 'em all on Fire, destroying both Owners and Seamen, hoping by this Example to terrify the rest; and for the future he took more than ordinary Care in guarding the Coasts. In the mean time *Cæsar* took Possession of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, which, at the sight of his Troops, surrender'd themselves; by which means he cut off all Communication of Land from *Bibulus* as long as he staid to intercept his Fleet. *Cæsar* still took care to justify his Actions, and for that reason he sent *Rufus*, whom he had twice taken Prisoner, to *Pompey*, once more to offer a Treaty, and to refer all to the Senate and People of *Rome*; which prov'd of no effect, for the People of *Rome* were too much of *Cæsar's* Party to be trusted by *Pompey*.

Pompey was now in *Macedonia*, where *Rufus* join'd him, and fearing lest *Cæsar* should become Master of *Dyrrachium*, where all his Ammunition lay, he march'd with his whole Army to save the Place. Upon his Arrival at that City, the Laziness and Desertion of many of his new-raisd Troops, made him cause all his Soldiers to swear, *That they would never abandon their General, but follow him through all his Fortunes*; which Oath was likewise taken by all the Officers. He encamp'd by the River *Apsus*, and *Cæsar* had posted his Army not far off, on the other Side of the River, to cover *Apollonia*; and both remain'd in this manner for some time, impatiently expecting the Succours that were to come up. But the Absence of *Cæsar's* Legions at *Brundisium* was a severe Vexation to him, whose Passage was chiefly obstructed by *Bibulus* at Sea; and *Bibulus* himself was in as ill a Condition, by being hinder'd of the Conveniencies of Land by *Cæsar's* Troops. At last *Bibulus* dying of a Sicknes at Sea, and leaving no Commander in Chief to succeed him, much less Care was taken than before. *Cæsar* was sensible of this favourable Opportunity, but was almost despairing that his Troops were not arriv'd as soon as he expected 'em, for he had written several times. At last, his great Impatience drove him upon an Action, which nothing cou'd excuse but the extraordinary Confidence he always had in his good Fortune, which was this: He disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Slave, and with all imaginable Secrecy, put himself on board a Fisher-man's Bark, at the Mouth of the River *Apsus*, with a design to pass to *Brundisium*, where his Forces lay. They row'd off in the beginning of the Night; but a stiff Gale of Wind at the Mouth of the River, made the Water very rough, and the Master and Rowers made several Attempts to get out to Sea; but the Winds increasing, he order'd 'em to desist. *Cæsar* finding his Design like to be fruitless, on a sudden discover'd himself; *Fear nothing*, saith he, *for thou carriest Cæsar and all his Fortune*: The Mariners

Mariners, encourag'd by the Presence of so great a Man, made fresh Endeavours, and got into the Sea, but the Waves ran so high, that they were at last forc'd to return to Land. *Cæsar's* Soldiers, at his Arrival, ran to him in great Multitudes, and told with a great Tenderness and Affection, *That he had reflected upon their Courage, by going to seek out new Forces, when they were sure to conquer without, whilst he was pleas'd to head 'em.*

In a short time after, *Cæsar* receiv'd the good News of the safe Arrival of most of his Troops under the Command of *Mark Anthony* and *Calenus*, at *Apollonia*, which consisted of 3 Veteran Legions, one new rais'd, and 800 Horse. They were closely pursu'd by *Caponius*, Admiral of the *Rhodian* Squadron, 16 of whose Vessels perish'd by the sudden running of the Wind, and the badness of the Weather. But two of *Cæsar's* Ships behind there, were taken by the Enemy, and the Soldiers of one put to the Sword; but those of the other being old Soldiers, by bravely defending themselves, escap'd. The nigh distance of *Cæsar's* and *Pompey's* Armies, had occasion'd several Parleys as well as Skirmishes; and here the last Propositions of Accommodation were made. *Pompey* protested, *That he wou'd never endure that the World should say, that his Life and Return was a Favour bestow'd upon him by Cæsar; and Labienus* cry'd out, *That nothing cou'd make a Composition but Cæsar's Head.* These Treaties therefore being unsuccessful, *Cæsar* decamp'd to join *Anthony*, and *Pompey* did the like to hinder his Design. He had no River to pass as *Cæsar* had, but went and posted himself in a Place which he thought most convenient for an Ambuscade, which he had laid for *Anthony*; but he being advis'd of it by the *Greeks* of the Country, intrench'd himself in an advantageous Post, where he staid for *Cæsar*, who soon after arriv'd; and *Pompey* fearing to be hemm'd in between the two Armies, retreated to *Asparagus* nigh *Dyrrachium*, leaving *Anthony* the liberty of joining *Cæsar*, which he did the same Day. Thus these two great Men, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*,
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at the Head of all their Troops, were in a readiness to dispute the Empire of the World, and, what was still more valuable to 'em, the Pre-eminence of all that Glory and Renown which they had gain'd by their Arms, one in the *West*, and the other in the *East*: And as these Actions were perhaps more remarkable than any before 'em in the *Roman* Story, especially as to matter of Conduct, so it may be convenient to be somewhat more particular in relating of 'em.

VI. Great Skill and excellent Management was us'd by both Generals; and *Cæsar* resolving not to be out-brav'd by the Rival of his Honour, march'd directly towards *Pompey* at *Asparagus*; and after three Days March he came in sight of the Enemy's Camp, and fortify'd his own, from whence the next Day he drew out his Troops to offer him Battle. *Pompey* stirr'd not, and from that moment *Cæsar* perceiv'd he must take other Measures. And the next Day he decamp'd to go towards *Dyrrachium*, with design either of reducing *Pompey* to shut himself up in the Town, or to cut off his Passage to such a very useful Place, which last in part succeeded. *Pompey* at first believ'd that *Cæsar* was oblig'd to draw off for want of Provisions; but understanding his Design by Spies and others, the next Day began to march, hoping to prevent *Cæsar* by a shorter way than he was forc'd to take. Which *Cæsar* being aware of, encourag'd his Soldiers what he cou'd, and left 'em but a small part of the Night for Rest, and arriv'd the next Morning under the Walls of *Dyrrachium*, when they began to discover the Van of *Pompey's* Army, who immediately secur'd a Hill call'd *Petra*, which commanded the Sea, under which was a small Shelter for Ships, where few Winds cou'd annoy them. Both Parties intrench'd themselves in the Posts they had taken; and *Pompey* caus'd part of his Ships to come under his Camp, and immediately sent into *Asia* and other Parts for Provisions and Ammunitions. *Cæsar* perceiving then that
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the War was like to continue long, and finding the want of Corn, caus'd Magazines to be made in all Parts not in the Enemy's Hands ; and notwithstanding all his Diligence and Care, the Disadvantages he labour'd under, caus'd his Army to be but ill furnish'd at last.

The Inconveniencies that were like to follow from hence, put *Cæsar* upon a new Design : All round *Pompey's* Camp were certain little Hills high and steep, of which *Cæsar* possess'd himself, and built Towers upon them in the nature of Redoubts ; then causing Lines of Communication to be drawn from Hill to Hill, and other Works, he endeavour'd to block up *Pompey* by that Circumvallation. This was done chiefly to diminish the mighty Reputation that *Pompey* had gain'd among Foreign Nations, when all the World should know that he was invested by *Cæsar*, and dar'd not hazard a Battel. But *Pompey* resolv'd to run the Hazard of any Scandal, rather than a Battel at this time, or to quit either *Dyrrachium* or the Sea ; so that both Parties at present were employ'd in Designs and Stratagems. *Cæsar's* Men daily carry'd on their Works to straiten the Enemy ; and those of *Pompey* did the same to enlarge themselves, they having the Advantage as to Numbers ; besides, theirs being the innermost Circumvallation, was not extended so far as *Cæsar's*. Tho' *Pompey* declin'd coming to Battel, yet he severely gall'd *Cæsar's* Men with his Archers and Slingers, which oblig'd 'em to make certain Blinds with Clothes and Skins for their Defence against the Arrows ; and no Day pass'd without some Encounter or other, particularly when *Cæsar's* ninth Legion was too far advanc'd, *Cæsar* brought it off safely, when *Pompey* before believ'd it impossible. It was very remarkable to find *Cæsar* besieging an Enemy stronger than himself, and supply'd with all Provisions by Sea, while he himself was reduc'd to extreme Necessity for want of Corn.

Yet his Soldiers bore all with admirable Constancy, remembring what great Honours they had often gain'd after such Miseries as these. They made use of Beans and Barley, and a Root call'd *Chara*, which they mingled with Milk, some of which they often threw among *Pompey's* Soldiers, telling 'em, *That they would rather eat the Barks of Trees, than let Pompey escape, now they had got him in their Power.* Pompey was extremely surpriz'd at this, and said, *That he did not expect to have had wild Beasts to deal withal.*

But afterwards, when Summer came on, there was a great Change; for *Pompey's* Army could hardly be kept alive, being most distress'd for want of Water, which *Cæsar* by Dams and other Methods had turn'd another way. On the contrary, *Cæsar's* Army was in very good Health, well furnish'd with Water and all Provisions, except Wheat; of which also, they had fair Hopes, Harvest being so nigh. After this, follow'd several Skirmishes; and one Night *Pompey* understanding *Cæsar* was absent a little way, attack'd his Works, but was beaten off with considerable loss, and forc'd to retreat into his old Trenches. In this Encounter one *Scæva*, a Centurion, behav'd himself with a wonderful Bravery, killing two Officers, after he had been wounded in the Eye, Shoulder, and Thigh, as *Appian* relates it, and receiving 230 Shots upon his Buckler. *Cæsar* greatly rewarded him and many others, and encourag'd by this good Success, drew out his Men every Day, and offer'd Battel to *Pompey* within View of his Lines; and tho' *Pompey* drew out also in *Battalia*, yet he always kept his Troops under Defence of his Ramparts, where *Cæsar* did not think fit to attack him. *Cæsar* had now, by means of his Officers, drawn several Provinces of *Greece* to his Party; and understanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, he sent to him to procure an Accommodation between him and *Pompey*, which he might easily bring about, as having the Command
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of an Army. But *Cæsar* finding this not to succeed, apply'd himself more closely to block up *Pompey*, and with the utmost Art and Diligence, which brought him to a more dangerous Condition than ever; for his Horse had consum'd all their Barley, and likewise all the Leaves of the Trees, so that there remain'd no more Subsistence for 'em, and they were now scarce able to go on their Legs for want of Forage; all which gave very great Hopes to *Cæsar* and his Soldiers.

These Troubles and Inconveniencies which encompass'd *Pompey*, made him resolv'd to break thro', especially after he had been inform'd of the Condition of *Cæsar's* Fortifications by *Roscillus* and *Ægus*, two Brothers of considerable Note, who deserted *Cæsar*, and came over to him. To carry on this Design, he gave Orders to his Light-harness'd Men and Archers to defend themselves with Bavins and Faggots of Osters; then drawing out 60 Cohorts, he put 'em on board his Ships, and attack'd *Cæsar's* Works by the Sea, which had been too little regarded, and not well compleated. This was done with such Effect, that all the Centurions of the first Cohort were cut off except one; and tho' *Cæsar* and his Officers us'd their utmost Endeavours to hinder *Pompey's* Designs, yet by Means of his great Conduct and Forecast, he got out of his Fortifications, and encamp'd in another Place by the Sea, where he had both the Conveniency of all Forage, and of his Shipping besides. *Cæsar* perceiving the Loss he had sustain'd, and that the Course of the War had not succeeded according to his Expectation, resolv'd to change it, and set down close to *Pompey*. In that Enterprize he design'd to cut off a Legion of the Enemy which was posted by a Wood; but this Action brought on a general Battel, where his Men were all entangled within the Intrenchments of the old Camps lately abandon'd; and likewise so surpriz'd

and over power'd by *Pompey's* Forces, that in spite of all *Cæsar's* Endeavours, they fled with great Precipitation and Loss. The greatest Part perish'd in the Trenches, and on the River-Banks, press'd to Death by their Fellows. *Pompey* pursu'd his Victory to the very Camp of *Cæsar*, but durst not attack it, being both surpriz'd with the Suddenness of the Victory; and the Fear of Ambuscades: And this was his great Error in this Case; for *Cæsar* himself confess'd, *That he had been lost without Redress, could Pompey have known how to make use of the Victory.*

This Advantage gain'd by *Pompey* caus'd him to be saluted *Imperator*; *Labiens* begging the Prisoners, caus'd 'em all to be slain; and *Pompey's* Party had such Assurance, that not thinking any more of further Engagements and Dangers, they carry'd themselves as undoubted Conquerors, which they reported in all Places, not considering the many Circumstances that occasion'd this Success. But *Cæsar* being driven from his former Purposes, resolv'd to change the whole Course of the War; and assembling his Men together, with a fearless Mind, spake to 'em after this manner: *We have no reason to be dejected or discourag'd at our late Insuccess, but have much more to be thankful to Fortune for the long and uninterrupted Course of her Favours, in those many and glorious Conquests in Gaul and Britain, and those happy and more successful Victories in Italy and Spain. If after all these renown'd Exploits and noble Acts, one little Disorder, one Error of Inadvertency, or indeed of Destiny itself, has depriv'd us of the Success we might reasonably have expected, we ought to correct all by the Greatness of our Souls, and the Magnanimity of our Courages.* After this Speech, he cashier'd some Ensigns; but he needed to make no other Examples, for his Soldiers offer'd to punish themselves by any Labour or Danger, crying out with great Impatience, *To Arms, let us be reveng'd, or die!* But
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Cæsar thought it not convenient to put 'em to the Tryal till their Minds were settled, therefore resolved to make a fair Retreat to *Apollonia*, which he did with that Diligence that *Pompey* could not overtake him ; only some of his Cavalry came up with *Cæsar's* Rear, but were repuls'd with Loss. *Cæsar* caus'd his Baggage to march before, and his Advantage of being eight Hours before *Pompey*, oblig'd *Pompey* in four Days to give over his Pursuit, and betake himself to other Resolutions.

Cæsar was constrain'd to go to *Apollonia* to dispose of his sick and wounded Men, and to muster his Army ; but fearing lest *Pompey* should surprize *Domitius*, one of his Lieutenants now in *Macedonia*, with three Legions, he hasten'd with his utmost Diligence to join him. *Pompey* perceiving which way he directed his March, was in as great a Fear for *Scipio*, now in *Thessaly* with the Syrian Legions, and immediately set forward. So each General march'd with all the Diligence imaginable, both to secure their Friends and surprize their Enemies. *Pompey* had the Advantage of the shortness of the Way, and *Domitius* very narrowly escap'd him, who coming to *Æginium* upon the Frontiers of *Thessaly*, there happily join'd *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* seeing all his Forces together, march'd directly to *Gomphi*, the first Town in the way from *Epirus* to *Thessaly*. The Inhabitants, who before had promis'd *Cæsar* Obedience, now chang'd their Minds, as many others had done, upon the Report of his being beaten, being persuaded to it by the *Prætors* of *Thessaly* then in the City ; and after having sent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for Succour, caus'd the Gates to be shut against *Cæsar*. *Scipio* was now at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, and *Pompey* was not arriv'd in this Province, which caus'd *Cæsar* to attack *Gomphi* : He order'd Ladders, great Baskets fill'd with Earth, and Hurdles to be got ready with all Speed ; and after having represented to his Soldiers the great Advantages

of forcing a Place so very rich and well furnish'd, he caus'd an Assault to be made, which was carry'd on and supported with such Fury and Bravery, that notwithstanding the extraordinary Height of the Walls, the Town was taken in a few Hours time. *Cæsar* left it to be plunder'd, and, without stopping, march'd his Army to *Metropolis*, which yielded to him upon the sight of the Prisoners of *Gomphi*. This Conduct of his brought over all the Towns in *Thessaly* to his Subjection, except *Larissa*, which *Scipio* had possess'd himself of.

Pompey arriv'd at *Thessaly* within a few Days after the taking of *Gomphi*, and advanc'd near *Pharsalia*, whither *Scipio* went and join'd him with his Troops. He was receiv'd by his Son-in-law *Pompey* with great Magnificence, making him Partaker both of his Honour and Authority, and ordering the Trumpets to sound every Morning at *Scipio's* Tent as well as his own. *Cæsar* was all the time giving Orders for the Subsistence of his Army, and with great Skill making Remarks upon the Inclinations of his Soldiers; and finding them hearty and vigorous, caus'd 'em to advance as far as the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Pompey* was now encamp'd. The Approach of these two noble Armies, in which were all the chosen *Roman* Legions, whose Valour was to decide the Fate of that great Empire; the Hatred and Ambition of the Generals, animated by the Prize as well as the Glory of such a Conquest, together with the small Appearance of an Accommodation, made it out of doubt, that nothing but a general Battel cou'd determine this famous Quarrel. *Pompey* being the stronger of the two, his Party did not question the Victory, and fell into great Controversies who should be successively Consuls, who should have *Cæsar's* Priesthood, and who should have his Lands, Goods and Moneys, and likewise how all Dignities and Magistracies should be dispos'd of, with a great many Things

Things of the like Nature. In short, every one set his Thoughts upon sharing the Fruits of the Victory, without considering how to gain it. But *Cæsar* was far otherwise employ'd, using all the Care and Skill imaginable to encourage and perfect his Men: He every Day sent out Parties, and exercis'd the lusty young Men of his Legions to mingle themselves among the Cavalry, and contend even with the Horses for Swiftneſs; ſo tho' *Pompey* much ſurpaſs'd in the Number of Horſe, yet *Cæsar's* being ſo well and ſkilfully aſſiſted by theſe light-arm'd Foot, were not at all afraid of 'em, and in one Rencounter they defeated a great Number of 'em.

Cæsar, now finding his Soldiers vigorous and deſirous of Action, drew out of his Camp, and offer'd *Pompey* Battel. But that General had no ſuch Deſign at preſent, either ſuſpecting his Troops, or dreading the loſs of his Reputation; and therefore endeavour'd to waſte *Cæsar's* Army with Fatigue and want of Proviſions. He drew indeed ſometimes out of his Camp, but always kept himſelf under his Trenches, at the Foot of the advanc'd Ground, where he was poſted. *Cæsar* could not attack him in that Place without great Diſadvantage, ſo that he reſolv'd to decamp the next Day, that by frequent Motions he might weary out *Pompey's* Men, who were not ſo harden'd to Toil and Labour as his. Upon the taking down of the Tents, Advice came that *Pompey's* Army was in *Battalia*, and far enough from his Trenches. Whereupon *Cæsar* caus'd all his Troops to halt, and with extream Joy told 'em, *That now was the happy and long-wiſh'd for Moment, in which they might gain themſelves immortal Honour.* After which he drew up his Troops in Order, and advanc'd with 'em towards the Place of Battel. *Pompey*, on the other ſide, was extremely troubled with melancholy Thoughts and preſaging Dreams; but now was no longer able to hold out againſt the Importunities and Mur-

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murings of his Officers, and therefore at present did what he cou'd to encourage 'em, particularly by telling 'em, *That the Strength of his Cavalry, who had promis'd him to attack the Enemy's Flanks before they cou'd discharge one Dart, was alone sufficient to gain the Victory.* Labienus seconded his Speech, adding withal, *That this was not the Army that Cæsar perform'd such Exploits in Gaul and Germany with, which were all gone home, kill'd with Diseases, or destroy'd at the last Battel at Dyrrachium.* After which Labienus took a solemn Oath not to return into his Camp but with Victory; which Oath Pompey himself took, and the rest after him, not imagining that any thing could be spoken vainly by so skilful a Commander.

Pompey's Army consisted of 45000 Foot, according to Plutarch, and 7000 Horse; Cæsar's but of 22000 Foot, and not much above 1000 Horse; but Appian with some Reason excepts the Auxiliaries, which he supposes to have been great on both sides; tho' all agree that Pompey's Forces were double the Number to Cæsar's. Pompey left seven Cohorts to guard his Camp, and drew up all his Men in three Lines, every Legion making three Battalions. and each Battalion was drawn up in half Cohorts, that is, 200 Men in Rank, and eight in File. The Syrian Legions were plac'd in the middle, under the Command of Scipio; the Spaniards, whom Pompey most rely'd upon, on the Right, under Domitius Ænobarbus; and on the Left was Pompey himself, with the two Legions Cæsar had restor'd at the beginning of the War, under Lentulus. The rest were in the same Order, between Scipio's Legions and the Wings; only the Auxiliary Troops, at least such as fought in Order, compos'd the Body of Reserve; for the others, they were drawn out without Order upon the Left, with the Archers, Slingers, and all the Cavalry, the Right being fortify'd by a River. Cæsar left two Cohorts to guard his Camp, and drew up in three Lines
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also, in the same Order with *Pompey* ; the tenth Legion was upon the Right, and the ninth upon the Left, almost join'd to the eighth. The rest of the Cohorts being drawn up between these Legions, were on the Center, where *Domitius Calvinus* commanded, *Sylla* having the Right Wing, and *Anthony* the Left. *Cæsar* put himself at the Head of the tenth Legion, whose Valour he had often experienc'd, and with Design to be opposite to *Pompey*, who intended to fall suddenly upon the Flanks of *Cæsar's* Troops ; but he soon perceiv'd it by the Order of his Battel, and thereupon he drew six Cohorts out of all his Troops, of which he compos'd a Body of Reserve. He exactly instructed them in their Duty ; and above all, gave them to understand, *That all the Hopes of Victory depended upon their Valour and Conduct alone.* Lastly, he plac'd his Cavalry so as to cover the Right of the tenth Legion, ordering over and above his third Line not to march, till they receiv'd a Signal from him.

Now it was that the Fate of the vast Empire of *Rome* was to be decided by the greatest Generals, the bravest Officers, and the stoutest Soldiers in the World, each Man almost being inspir'd with the Desire of conquering Gloriously, or dying Honourably. As the Armies approach'd, the two Generals went from Rank to Rank encouraging their Soldiers : *Pompey* represented to his Men, *The Justice and Merit of his Cause ; the Advantage of their Numbers, strengthen'd by the Assistance of so many illustrious Senators ; and the Glory lately obtain'd at the Battel of Dyrrachium.* *Cæsar* was contented only to demonstrate, *That he had endeavour'd by all possible Means to obtain an honourable Peace ; and if his Enemies had pleas'd, they might have spar'd the Blood of so many brave Men.* So seeing the Impatience of his Soldiers to fall on, he gave the Signal of Battel ; the Word on *Pompey's* Side was, *Hercules the invincible ;* that on *Cæsar's*, *Venus the Victorious.*

victus. There was now only so much Space between the two Armies as was just sufficient for the Place of Battel ; but *Pompey* order'd his Men to receive the first Shock without moving from their Places. *Cæsar's* Soldiers seeing that, like Men of Skill, of their own Accord made a Halt in the midst of their Carreer ; and after taking a little Breath, ran furiously upon the Enemy, first discharging their Javelins, then drawing their Swords, as *Cæsar* had given 'em Orders. *Pompey's* Men receiv'd the Charge without the least Disorder, and falling on with their Javelins and Swords, a cruel and bloody Battel ensu'd, which for some time seem'd equal. Then *Pompey* order'd his Cavalry to charge, which, with the Multitude of Archers and Slingers, soon oblig'd *Cæsar's* Men to give Ground, and got themselves upon the Flank of his Army, as they first design'd. Whereupon *Cæsar* immediately order'd the six Cohorts to advance, which were his Body of Reserve, to charge upon the Faces of the Enemy with their Pikes ported. This Contrivance disorder'd those nice and effeminate Knights ; and the fear of spoiling their Faces, put 'em into such Confusion, that upon the rallying of *Cæsar's* Cavalry, they were all broke in a Moment, and the Slingers and Archers being thus abandon'd, were all cut to Pieces. *Cæsar* industriously following that Advantage, advanc'd and charg'd *Pompey's* Troops upon the Flank ; which Charge they stood with great Resolution, and the Allies bravely defended themselves, when *Cæsar* gave the Signal for his third Line to advance ; which fresh Troops pouring in upon *Pompey's*, wearied out and attack'd on all sides, easily broke 'em. The Flight began among the Strangers, tho' *Pompey's* Right-Wing still valiantly maintain'd their Ground ; but *Cæsar* causing his Men to cry out *Kill the Strangers, but save the Romans*, the Romans laid down their Arms, and receiv'd Quarter, but a miserable Slaughter was made

made among the Strangers, who fled with all Speed.

Cæsar, now finding the Victory certain, and *Pompey* retreated to his Trenches, cry'd out to his Men, *That they ought to pursue the Victory, and take the Enemies Camp.* It was now Noon-day, and tho' they were wearied out with the Extremity of the Heat, yet upon seeing their General march a-foot at the Head of 'em, they follow'd him with great Resolution, and falling on with fresh Courage, the Enemy all fled to the Mountains not far off. *Pompey* himself was so extreamly dishearten'd and confounded, that here he cou'd perform nothing worthy of his great Courage or Reputation, but getting on Horse-back, he fled to *Larissa*, and from thence to the Sea. *Cæsar* found throughout the Camp much rich Furniture in the Tents, Tables spread with fine Linnen, and Cupboards cover'd with Plate, which sufficiently shew'd the Luxury and Assurance of the Enemy. *Cæsar* earnestly desir'd his Soldiers, *Not to amuse themselves with Plunder, but to compleat this glorious Victory*; and by means of the great Respect they bore him, he prevail'd. So a Trench was immediately thrown up about the Mountain where the Enemy was retreated, who wanting Water, were forc'd to quit it, and retire to *Larissa*. *Cæsar* immediately follow'd 'em with four Legions, and after six Miles March, drew up in *Battalia*, which caus'd the Enemy to betake themselves to a high Hill, at the Foot of which ran a River. Now, Night approaching, *Cæsar's* Men were almost spent, and ready to faint with the incessant Toil of the whole Day; yet still by his obliging Persuasions, he prevail'd with 'em to cut off the Conveniency of Water from the Enemy by a Trench. This immediately forc'd them to a Capitulation, only some Senators made their Escape in the Dark. The next Morning *Cæsar* order'd all the Enemy to come down into the Plain, and lay down
their

their Arms, which they obey'd, and falling upon their Knees before him, in the most suppliant Posture, begg'd for Mercy, which he granted 'em with all the Clemency and Kindness imaginable, and commanded his Soldiers not to offer 'em the least Incivility, nor plunder their Baggage. Thus *Cæsar*, by his wonderful Skill and Courage, and by the indefatigable Industry of his Soldiers, obtain'd the most compleat, tho' not the most bloody, Victory that ever General in the World did, 15000 of the Enemy being slain in Battel, and 24000 surrender'd, he himself losing a very inconsiderable Number.

In the mean time, the Great *Pompey*, who just before had been the glorious Commander of Kings, and all the Greatness and Magnificence of *Rome*, now found himself reduc'd to seek Retreat with some few of his Friends in a poor Fisherman's Cabin: From whence he went aboard another Vessel, and made forward every Day as much as he could; but the ungrateful Sound of his Defeat still flew before him, which so dejected and confounded him, that he could not think of any thing that might be serviceable to him. His Assurance of Victory made his Defeat most intolerable, leaving him naked and disarm'd of all Relief: And his Misfortunes had so infatuated his Mind, that he cou'd not so much as use those Advantages he had still by Sea, where he had a powerful and victorious Fleet. He sail'd first to *Amphipolis*, then to *Lesbos*, where he took his Wife, who bitterly complain'd of the ill Destiny which ally'd her to *Crassus* first, and afterwards to *Pompey*, only to cause the Ruin of two such illustrious Families. *Pompey* from thence directed his Course to *Ægypt*, where King *Ptolemy*, a Minor, was in War with his Sister *Cleopatra*, whose Father *Pompey* had settled in his Kingdom. *Pompey* sent to him, That in regard of the ancient Hospitality and Amity between him and his Father, he desir'd a Retreat of him in *Alexandria*, and that by
his

his Wealth and Power he would support him, now fallen into the utmost Misery and Calamity. The Message was well enough receiv'd ; but such as were Protectors of the King, and Guardians of the Kingdom now in his Minority, either induc'd by the Fear of the Armies being gain'd by Pompey, many of 'em having been his Soldiers, or else despising the lowness of his Fortune, gave a civil Answer openly to the Messengers, and desir'd him to come to the King : But secretly, plotting among themselves, sent Achilles, a principal Commander, and of great Boldness, together with Septimius, a Roman Tribune, to kill him. They met him with much Civility ; and Pompey knowing Septimius to have led a Company under him in his War against the Pirates, went aboard a little Bark, with a few of his Soldiers, and there was barbarously and treacherously murder'd by Achilles and Septimius, his Wife and Friends flying with what Sail they could make. His Head being cut off, they left the Body on the Shore, which was carefully taken up by Philip his Freed-Man, who gathering up some Pieces of a broken Boat for a Pilc, was surpriz'd by an old Roman Soldier of Pompey's residing in Ægypt : Who art thou, said he, that art making these sad Preparations for the Great Pompey's Funeral ? Philip answered him, One of his Freed-Men. Ah, reply'd he, thou shalt not have all this Honour to thy self, but suffer me to partake in an Action so Just and Sacred ; that among all the Miseries of my Exile, I may please myself in having the Honour to touch the Body, and assist at the Funeral of the greatest and noblest Soldier that Rome ever produc'd. After which they gave him the last Rites, the Sadness of which Ceremony was very peculiar.

Such was the End, and such the Funeral of *Pompey the Great*, who after his escaping so many memorable and imminent Dangers, where he might have fallen with the Honour agreeable to the Greatness of his Character, comes at last to lose his Life miserably

bly by the Hands of three or four Villains; he being now in the 58th Year of his Age. This happen'd near two Years after his Breach with *Cæsar*, and this cut off the second Head of the *Triumvirate*, and made Way for *Cæsar*'s absolute Power soon after; and this happen'd in the 706th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3957, about 12 Years after the Beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 46 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. III.

From the Death of Pompey, to the Death of Cæsar; which finish'd the Power of the First Triumvirate, but still kept down the Consular State.

Containing the Space of nigh Four Years.

U. C.
706.

THUS successful was *Cæsar* in all his Actions; especially in the last, which Advantage he resolv'd to pursue to the utmost; and knowing that all his Enemies Hopes were lodg'd in the Person of *Pompey*, he follow'd him with his usual Diligence; And as tho' Fortune was resolv'd never to forsake him, *Cassius* retreating into *Asia* with a Fleet of 60 Sail, fell in among *Cæsar*'s little Barks he had provided for his Troops; and tho' he might easily have ruin'd *Cæsar*, yet *Cæsar*'s Presence and Behaviour so over-aw'd him, that he immediately surrender'd himself with all his Navy. *Cæsar* shortly after arriv'd at *Alexandria* with two Legions and 800 Horse, in ten Gallies of *Rhodes*, and a few Ships of *Asia*, ordering the rest of his Men to follow. Tho' these Forces

Forces were very inconsiderable, the Legions being reduc'd to 3200 Men ; yet the Confidence he had in his Victories, and the high Reputation they had gain'd him, made him believe that he should meet with Obedience, where-ever he could find Men. Upon his landing at *Alexandria*, he was entertain'd with the News of the Death of *Pompey*, whose Head was presented to him, and his Ring which he us'd for his *Signet*. This mournful Spectacle immediately reviv'd the Thoughts of his former Friendship, which, with the sad Imagination of the fatal Misfortunes that attend the greatest Men, drew Tears from his Eyes, and made him turn away his Face with Horror, keeping the Ring, and sending away the Messenger in a Moment. He afterwards, to shew his Respect to this great Man, caus'd a magnificent Sepulchre to be built by the Place where he was murder'd, with a Temple, which he call'd, *The Temple of Wrath*.

Cæsar, upon his Entry into *Alexandria*, having his Arms and *Falces* carry'd before him as Consul, the Multitude were much offended, as they were at his landing, crying out, *That the King's Authority was diminish'd* ; which occasion'd *Cæsar* to give Orders for other Legions, which were enroll'd for *Pompey's* Service, to be brought to him out of *Asia*. In the mean time, as an Argument of his Confidence, he made great Entertainments, and assisted at the Conferences of Philosophers, who were in great Numbers within that City. But *Photinus* the Eunuch, who came to *Alexandria* with the young King, daily gave him fresh Marks of his Dissatisfaction, and Intention of making use of Arms ; till at length the Insolence of this Person, and probably the Reputation of the admirable Beauty of *Cleopatra*, caus'd him to declare publickly, *That the Controversy between the King and his Sister belong'd to the Cognizance of the People of Rome, and consequently to himself as Consul, and the*
rather

rather, because old Ptolemey by his *Will* had left his eldest Son and Daughter Heirs, and the People of Rome Executors. Upon this Account he intended to make up all Differences between 'em, and sent to 'em to have 'em rather to plead their Causes before him, than to decide the Controversy by the Sword.

At this time *Photinus* had the Administration of the Kingdom, and he disdain'd to come to *Cæsar's* Proposals, but thereupon procur'd *Achillas* to march directly to *Alexandria* at the Head of 22000 stout Men, many of 'em being *Romans*. This forc'd *Cæsar* to take great Care, after he had secur'd the King's Person, to secure himself in the Town, not being strong enough to stand 'em in the Field, and to cause his own Quarters to be strongly fortify'd, where, nevertheless, he was shortly after attack'd by *Achillas*. *Cæsar's* Soldiers bravely repuls'd the Enemy, whose chiefest Design was to get Possession of the 50 Ships and 22 Gallies which were in the Haven, which oblig'd *Cæsar*, after a long and doubtful Fight, to possess himself of the *Pharos*, a Tower of wonderful Structure in an Islet just by, and to set Fire to those Vessels; the Flames whereof being driven by the Wind upon some Houses nigh the Port, burnt 'em down, and among 'em unhappily consum'd one of the best Libraries in the World, belonging to the Kings of *Ægypt*, and consisting, as some Authors report, of 700000 Volumes. The Port made *Cæsar* Master by Sea, tho' he was close shut up by Land, and the People of the Town were generally against him. In the mean time the young Princess *Cleopatra* came to *Cæsar* with much Danger and Difficulty: She embark'd in a Shallop with only *Appollodorus*, one of her Domesticks, with whom she arriv'd that Night under the Castle of *Alexandria*, and there *Appollodorus* binding her up in a Packet of those Necessaries which he brought along with him, took her upon his Back, and by that means deceiving the

the *Ægyptian* Guards, carry'd her to *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* was too sensible of the Charms of Beauty, not to be touch'd with those of *Cleopatra*, who was now in the Prime of her Youth, and one of those sprightly Beauties, whereof every Feature had its particular Grace : All which join'd with an admirable Wit, and a Voice so soft and bewitching, that even that Perfection alone, without the Help of her Eyes, which were the finest in the World, enslav'd the Hearts of all who heard her ; nor cou'd *Cæsar* refuse her his ; but at first sight shew'd himself of her *Interest*. *Ptolemy* her Brother quickly found it, and *Cæsar*'s Uneasiness in his Love, made the Inhabitants more turbulent ; but he soon quell'd all, and as Consul and Tutor to the young Princess, in a general Assembly he read the Will of *Ptolemy* their Father, and promis'd to put it in Execution.

In the mean time *Photinus* was slain in the City by a Tumult ; and *Ganymedes* the Eunuch, under Pretence of assisting *Arfinoe*, King *Ptolemy*'s youngest Sister, and by declaring her *Queen*, had caus'd *Achillas* to be slain, and procur'd himself to be made General of the Army, who assuming the said Authority, continu'd the Siege with much Vigour, reduc'd *Cæsar* to great Extremities, by spoiling all his fresh Water, which he soon remedy'd by his extraordinary Diligence, and digging abundance of Wells. *Cæsar* began now to expect his Succours with Impatience, and being inform'd that the 24th Legion was arriv'd on the Confines of *Africk*, but could not come up by reason of the Winds, he embark'd with his whole Fleet, but with only his Mariners, and set forward to meet it. The Enemy knowing that he was without Soldiers,, attack'd him ; but he soon worsted 'em, join'd his Legion, and return'd to *Alexandria*. This first Fight astonish'd the *Alexandrians* ; nevertheless they refitted, and came against *Cæsar* with a stronger Fleet than before, but were again

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routed, and forc'd to fly under the Peer of *Pharos*. *Cæsar* was only Master of the Tower, and making an Attack upon the Peer with some little Success, was nevertheless at last repuls'd with so much Disorder, that not being able to hinder his Soldiers from throwing themselves on board his Ship, he sav'd himself by swimming, but with so much Presence of Mind, that he lost none of his Papers, which he held out of the Water with one Hand, to preserve 'em from wetting, nor yet his Coat-Armour, which he carry'd in his Teeth.

The *Alexandrians*, finding they were not able by Force to drive out *Cæsar*, had recourse to their old Arts of Diffimulation, demanding their King from him, pretending, *That they were weary of the Command of Ganymedes and a Girl, and that they were desirous of making Peace with the Romans under the Authority of their lawful Prince.* *Cæsar* was sensible of their perfidious Temper; but finding the War might be more honourable, and not much more dangerous, presently deliver'd him, who, as he expected, employ'd all his Forces against him. But at this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a Man of noble Birth, of brave Spirit, and great Fidelity to *Cæsar*, came with an Army to *Cæsar's* Assistance. He first took *Pelusium* by the way, and went to pass the River *Nile* at a Place call'd *Delta*. Which *Ptolemy* being inform'd of, went in Person to oppose him; and *Cæsar* did the same to assist *Mithridates*; who before the Arrival of either, had already beaten *Ptolomey's* Men in one Rencounter. *Cæsar* also defeated others, before he cou'd join *Mithridates*; after which he attack'd a small Fort between his Camp and that of *Ptolemy*, which he took, and the next Day attack'd their very Camp, which he forc'd, and the King endeavouring to save himself by Water, was drown'd. After this Victory, *Cæsar* met with no Opposition in all *Ægypt*, and the City of *Alexandria* was the first that submitted;

mitted ; so he made his Entry as Conqueror, and pardon'd the Citizens in favour of *Cleopatra*, whom he establish'd Queen with her younger Brother *Ptolemy*, according to the Intent of their Father's Will, driving out *Arfinoe* and *Ganymedes*. The rest of the Days he staid in *Ægypt*, he dedicated to the Love he had for this beautiful Princess, and the Rejoicings for his Victory. He spent much of his time in her Company ; and some Authors report that he went up the *Nile* with her in a magnificent Galley, and that he had gone as far as *Æthiopia*, if his Army had not refus'd to follow him ; but however, he afterwards gave such publick as well as private Testimonies of his Affection, that he left her with Child of a Son, whom he call'd *Cæsario*.

II. About the Beginning of the *Alexandrian War*, *Cæsar* had great Honours voted him by the Senate at *Rome*, who were now most of 'em gather'd together : He was made Consul for five Years together ; *Dictator* for a whole Year, and had the Power of *Tribune* for his Life ; and tho' he was out of *Italy*, he took the *Dictatorship*, and made *Marc Anthony* his *Master of the Horse*, who as yet had not been *Prætor*. *Anthony*, at six Months End, was forc'd to lay down his Office, and was made Consul, the *Augurs* crying, it was unlawful for any *Master of the Horse* to hold that Office above six Months. But the principal Cause was his exercising too great an Authority in that Place ; which, with the outrageous Carriage of *Trebellius* and *Dolabella*, both *Tribunes*, rais'd great Commotions and Disturbances in the City. *Cæsar's* Presence was now much wanted, and he might have been far sooner at *Rome*, if *Cleopatra* had not held him fast by her Charms in *Ægypt*, which Hold she was at last forc'd to let go after nine Months, and give way to a greater Violence, which hurry'd him out of her Embraces. This proceeded from

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Pharnaces, the Son of the great *Methridates*, who had formerly been left King of *Bosphorus*, and being ambitious of recovering of his Father's Dominions, he seiz'd *Colchis* with little Trouble, and all *Armenia* in the Absence of *Deiotarus* the Tetrarch of that Kingdom, besides some other Places. *Cæsar* being then employ'd in *Ægypt*, and hoping to reduce him by others, had sent *Domitius Calvinus* against him, with Orders to receive all the Forces that were in *Asia*. *Domitius* join'd with *Deiotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, march'd strait against *Pharnaces*, then at *Nicopolis*, which Place he had lately taken. *Pharnaces*, affrighted at his Enemy, desir'd a Truce, which *Domitius* contemn'd, and resolving to fight, was considerably worsted in the Engagement.

Pharnaces, elevated with this Success, took in the rest of the Cities of *Pontus*, and march'd into *Bithynia*, hoping to meet with his Father's Fortune ; but was stopp'd in his Career by the Revolt of *Asander*, whom he had left in his Kingdom in Chief. He design'd to march against him, but was diverted by the News of *Cæsar's* coming, who upon these Occasions thought it not honourable to make any longer stay in *Ægypt*. *Pharnaces* was much more terrify'd at the Name of *Cæsar* than his Army, and as he approach'd, sent often to him about a Peace, labouring by all ways to evade the present Danger, alledging *Cæsar's* pardoning of *Deiotarus*, who had been a greater Enemy to him than he, not doubting, but early to renew the War after his Departure. *Cæsar* sufficiently apprehensive of his Designs, gave good Words to the Messengers the first and second time; but at the third time he objected, among other Crimes, His Ingratitude to *Pompey* his Benefactor ; adding, That he receiv'd no less Satisfaction in pardoning of all private Injuries, than in revenging such as had been offer'd to the Republick. And thereupon using all Expedition, on one and the same Day, he went and fought
the

the Enemy, who at first distress'd him with their Horses and Chariots that bore Scythes; but the Veteran Troops obtain'd the Victory in a few Hours; and *Pharnaces* himself flying, and endeavouring to break into *Bosphorus*, was repuls'd and slain by *Asander*; the just End of a Person so rebellious to his Father, and so ungrateful to his Friends. The Victory being so sudden and effectual, made *Cæsar* say, *That Pompey was very happy in gaining so much Glory against this Enemy at so easy a rate.* And in writing to *Anclus* at *Rome*, he express'd the Celerity of this Expedition in three Words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici; I came, I view'd, I vanquish'd.* *Cæsar* settled Affairs in these Parts as well as his time wou'd permit him; and after his bestowing the Government of *Armenia* upon *Ariobarzanes*, that of *Judæa* upon *Hyrcaus* and *Antipater*, and that of *Bosphorus* upon *Mithridates*, he embark'd and went into *Italy* with a Diligence which put all the World into Admiration.

III. Upon *Cæsar's* Arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero* and a great many others of *Pompey's* Party went out to him, and were receiv'd by him with the same Civility as if they had always been of his Interest. This courteous and obliging Behaviour so far gain'd him the Favour of the People of *Rome*, that he easily appeas'd the Dissentions there; and the time of his Dictatorship being expir'd, he was chosen Consul with *Æmilius Lepidus*. He cou'd not find time to make any long stay at *Rome*, for the Remains of *Pompey's* Party had rally'd themselves in *Africk* under *Scipio* and *Cato*, and *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, which made him hasten thither, after he had appeas'd some Mutinies among his own Soldiers, who insolently demanded their Rewards and their Discharge; but upon *Cæsar's* Presence, and his telling 'em, *They shou'd not partake of the Honour of the African Expedition*, they submitted, so as to offer themselves

selves to be decimated. *Cæsar*, after his usual Diligence, landed in *Africk* with a small Party, but the rest soon after follow'd: He was in some Distress for want of Necessaries for a little time, but that he conquer'd with great Constancy. After many Movements, and several Skirmishes and smaller Battels between both Parties, in which *Cæsar* was sometimes in great Danger, *Cæsar* resolv'd to come to a decisive Battel if it were possible. In order to this Design, he invested the City *Tapsus*, supposing that *Scipio* wou'd attempt to relieve it, in which he was not mistaken; for *Scipio* joining with King *Juba*, and encamping near *Cæsar*, they shortly after came to a general Battel, in which *Cæsar* gave a final Defeat to all the Enemy's Forces, with little or no Loss on his side, and became Master of all their Bag and Baggage. *Tapsus*, *Adrumetum*, and *Zama*, immediately surrender'd; *Cato* fled to *Utica*, and *Juba* and *Petreius* kill'd one another in Despair, and all *Juba's* Kingdom submitted to the Government of *Rome*. *Sitius*, one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, shortly after encounter'd *Afranius* and *Sylla*, as they were going for *Spain*, defeated their Forces, and took 'em Prisoners; after which they were both kill'd in a Mutiny. *Scipio* himself, and several Senators being embark'd for *Spain*, were driven upon *Sitius's* Fleet, where they all were slain by their Enemies, or by themselves.

Of the Generals of *Pompey's* Party, *Cato* was only remaining, who had retreated to *Utica*, where he had establish'd a kind of Senate, compos'd of 300 *Romans*. He was at first resolv'd to hold out the Town; but finding the Minds of the Inhabitants much divided, he quitted that Design for another more agreeable to his Character and Philosophical Opinions. He desir'd his Friends, some to save themselves by Sea, and others to rely upon *Cæsar's* Goodness, and embracing them with a more than ordinary Tenderness that Night, his Discourses to 'em

'em being about Morality, where he defended that Maxim, *That the Virtuous were only happy and free, but wicked Men were always miserable and Slaves.* His Sons, suspecting his Intentions, at Supper took his Sword from him, which he miss'd not when he arose, but lying down in his Bed, read *Plato's Dialogue call'd Phædo*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul. Then missing his Sword, he was very angry and dissatisfy'd till it was brought him; then feeling the Point, he laid it by him, saying, *I am Master of myself.* He then took his Book again, which he had read twice over, and fell into a sound Sleep; but just as Day began to appear, he took his Sword and thrust himself thro' the Breast; which not dispatching him, he staggering, fell upon his Bed, and at the same time threw down a Table upon which he had drawn some Geometrical Figures. At the Noise of this his Slaves came in, and with their Cries also brought his Sons and Friends, who found him weltring in his Blood, and his Bowels out of his Body: His Eyes were yet open, which caus'd his Physician to ease him upon his Bed; then putting up his Bowels, which were yet unhurt, he clos'd up the Wound. Upon this, *Cato* recover'd his Spirits, and being transported with Fury, thrust back the Physician, rent open his Wound again, and tearing his Bowels expir'd before their Eyes. Thus dy'd *Cato*, a Person of singular Justice, Severity and Magnanimity; upon the hearing of whose Death, *Cæsar* said, *Cato has envy'd me the Glory of saving his Life; and therefore do I envy his Death;* designing, as was thought, to have conquer'd him by his Kindness and Generosity: His Death compleatly finish'd *Cæsar's War in Africk.*

Africk being entirely recuc'd to Subjection, *Cæsar* return'd to *Rome* in Triumph for all his Victories; and first to obtain the Favour of the People, he gave 'em to understand, *That his last Victory had gain'd*

the Commonwealth of Rome, a Country so large and rich, that it could yearly furnish the City with 200000 Bushels of Corn, and 3000000 Pounds of Oil. After this, he order'd the Preparations for his Triumph upon four successive Days; the first design'd for the Triumph over *Gaul*, shew'd in a great many Tables the Names of 300 Nations and 800 Cities, conquer'd by the Death of a Million of Foes, whom he had defeated in several Battels. The second Triumph was over *Ægypt*. The third shew'd the Defeat of *Pharnaces* in *Asia*. And the fourth that of King *Juba* in *Africk*; which Triumphs were over Foreigners, not Romans. Here was the utmost Shew of Magnificence, and all the Roman Soldiers follow'd their great General, crown'd with Laurels, and in that Equipage he went to the *Capitol*, the Steps whereof he mounted upon his Knees, forty Elephants being rang'd on each side, carrying great Candlesticks, fill'd with Flambeaus. The Silver Vessels and Statues, of Goldsmiths Work, which were us'd in these Triumphs, amounted to 65000 Talents, which is above twelve Millions of our Money, besides 1822 Crowns of Gold, weighing 15033 lb. which were Presents that the Princes and Cities had made him after his Victories, according to the Customs of those Times. Out of these Sums he paid his Soldiers, besides what he had promis'd 'em in the Beginning of the Civil Wars. To every one 150 Pounds of our Money, as much more to the Centurions, and twice as much as that to the Tribunes and Commanders of the Cavalry; and for their Retreat after the Wars, he gave 'em Inheritances in several Places separated from *Italy*. The People also were sensible of his Bounty; for he distributed to each particular Person ten Bushels of Corn, and ten Pounds of Oil, and added 100 *Denarii* to the 300 he had promis'd 'em before. After this he nobly entertain'd the whole People at 22000 several Tables,
and

and that nothing might be wanting to the Pomp and Magnificence of these Feasts, he caus'd 2000 Gladiators to fight before the People, and make Representations of Sea and Land-Fights of four or five thousand Men of a Side, besides all sorts of Plays and Shows. These Entertainments drew so many People to *Rome*, that the greatest Part of them were forc'd to lie in the open Air, and a great many were stifled in the Press; among the rest, two Senators.

Many great Honours were after this conferr'd upon *Cæsar*, among which was that of *Master of Manners*, as if the Name of *Censor* was too mean, for three Years; all joining to shew their great Forwardness in preferring him, some out of Love and Respect, others out of Fear and Flattery: And indeed many began to dread the Severities of *Marius* and *Sylla*; but *Cæsar*'s extraordinary Civility to both Parties, and the Greatness of his Nature, in a great measure freed 'em from any such Fears. He began now to settle the Commonwealth, and make many new Laws: He committed the Power of Judicature to the *Senators* and *Equites* alone; and both by Laws and his own Care, he restrain'd the profuse way of living of rich Persons. And because the City was manifestly exhausted, by reason of Multitudes quitting it, he propos'd Rewards to all such as had many Children. Then considering that by his long Command in *Gaul*, he himself had Opportunity of establishing an extraordinary Power, by a Law he ordain'd, That no *Prætor* should command above a Year in his Province, nor a *Consul* above two Years after the expiring of his Office. Moreover, to shew that nothing should escape his Care, he undertook to regulate the *Roman* Year, which was at this time very much confounded; and tho' *Numa*, the second King of *Rome*, had bestow'd much Pains about it, yet still the Reckoning according

ing to Lunar Months, and the odd eleven Days and a quarter, caus'd a great many Inconveniencies. Whereupon *Cæsar*, after his consulting the most able Astronomers, being also himself very well instructed in that Science, whereof he had written, regulated the Year according to the Course of the Sun, allotting to each Year 365 Days, and adding one Day more every fourth Year, which was called the *Bis-sextile*; and this is the Method which we to this Day follow, and goes still by the Name of the *Julian Account* and the *Old Stile*, whereas the *New Stile* is call'd the *Gregorian Account*. In this same Year flourish'd *Catullus* the Poet, one of the principal *Epigrammatists* of all the *Romans*.

IV. While *Cæsar* was thus employ'd in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, the two Sons of *Pompey* had fortify'd themselves in *Spain*; and as the People still passionately affected the Memory of their Father, they soon gather'd together a powerful Army; they had also very good Officers, and among the rest *Labiennus*, which oblig'd *Cæsar* to go in Person to oppose their Proceedings; tho' not without some Unwillingness, by reason that his beloved Mistress *Cleopatra* was now at *Rome*. He was now just made Consul again, and likewise *Dictator* for another Year; and *Lepidus*, who was Consul with him, he chose for his *Master of the Horse*. *Cæsar* proceeded in his Expedition with his wonted Vigour and Celerity, and arriv'd in *Spain* before the Enemy so much as imagin'd it. *Cneius*, the eldest of the two *Pompeys*, had laid Siege to the City of *Ulla*, and *Sextus* the younger Brother was in *Corduba* with a strong Garrison. *Cæsar*, to raise the Siege, and to give some Jealousy to *Cneius*, advanc'd towards *Corduba*, which occasion'd him to raise the Siege before *Ulla*, and come and oppose *Cæsar*; but *Cæsar* finding he cou'd not draw him to a Battel, went and invested *Attegna*,
a Place

Dic.
lxxiv.
Annual.
U. C.
709.

a Place of great Importance, and full of Provisions. The Siege lasted some considerable time, and the *Pompeys* endeavour'd to throw in Succours into the Town, but in vain, till at last it was constrain'd to capitulate. *Cæsar* being Master of this, several other Places submitted to him; and the *Pompeys* marching up and down, and fearing the rest should revolt, were resolv'd to come to a general Battel; their Army being now encamp'd in the Plains of *Munda*, and *Cæsar's* not far distant.

Both Generals were equally impatient to come to an Engagement, so that *Cneius* drew up his Men by Break of Day, well posting himself upon a Hill, and the Exactness of their Order shew'd his Troops to great Advantage, especially his Cavalry, who were very well arm'd. *Cæsar* with great Art drew up his Troops likewise, and after he had advanc'd a little distance from his Trenches, made a Halt, expecting the Enemy to come down from the Hill. This Delay made *Cæsar's* Soldiers begin to murmur, and so encourag'd those of *Cneius*, that they advanced upon the declining Part of the Hill; so both sides gave a Shout, and the Battel began. This was extraordinary sharp and dreadful on both sides, those on *Cæsar's* side were extremely incited by the Hopes of putting an End to all their Labours by this Battel; and those on *Pompey's* side fought out of Necessity and Desperation, most of 'em expecting no Pardon, as having their Lives formerly given 'em, when they had been overthrown with *Afranius* and *Petreius*. The first Shock was manag'd on both sides with so much Courage, that *Cæsar's* Men, who had been almost always us'd to conquer, found here a stop put to their Fierceness: The Battel continu'd for many Hours very obstinate, and *Cæsar* was never in so great Danger as now; he threw himself several times with great Rage and Fury amongst the midst of the Enemy, crying out to his Men, and ask-

asking him, *If they were not ashamed to deliver him into the Hands of Boys?* So well did he encourage them by his Speeches, but much more by a thousand brave and noble Actions, which he perform'd himself; that at last, with much difficulty, and a long time, he overthrew the Enemy, and kill'd 30000 upon the Spot. This Battel was so fierce and dangerous, that *Cæsar* often said, *That at all other Places he fought for his Glory, but at Munda for his Life.*

All his Ensigns were taken, and *Varus* and *Labienus* slain in the Battel. *Cneius*, with 150 Horse, escap'd to *Carteia*, from whence, thinking to save himself by Sea, he was forc'd by *Didius*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, to return to Land, and being besieg'd within a Tower, was attack'd so vigorously, that he was forsaken by his People, and slain in a Cave where he had hid himself. But his Brother *Sextus* escaping from *Cor-duba*, so well conceal'd himself, that *Cæsar* could not find him. All *Spain* immediately submitted to *Cæsar*, and he exacted great Contributions from all the Enemies Cities, under Pretence of punishing their Rebellion. After which he return'd to *Rome* with great Joy and Satisfaction, that he had at last brought under Submission that Commonwealth which gave Laws to the greatest Part of the World. He enter'd *Rome* in Triumph; but this Triumph was by no means attended with any joyful Acclamations of the People, who were much concern'd to see the Memory of their belov'd *Pompey* insulted over, and the Race almost extirpated of one of the greatest Men in *Rome*. But *Cæsar* did it the rather upon the account of bringing the *Roman* Dominions into Peace and Subjection, and the perfect Finishing the Civil War; which tho' it continu'd not much above Four Years, had been so destructive to the *Roman* People, that at a *Census* just before *Cæsar's* last Expedition, there were found but one hundred and fifty thousand Heads of Families in
Rome.

Rome, whereas in that *Lustrum* before, there were three hundred and twenty thousand.

V. *Cæsar* had now rais'd himself far above all *Romans*, and above all Mortals in that Age, by his wonderful Acts, having subdu'd and conquer'd the best Parts of the World, in almost as short a time as others could reasonably travel those Countries. And now the Senate again began to confer new Honours upon him, and those greater than ever : They made him *Dictator in perpetuum*, Consul for ten Years, subjected all Magistrates, even *Plebeian*, to his Power, and ordain'd that he alone shou'd command the Armies, and raise Money ; which made him Sovereign Prince or King in effect. Among other Titles, he had that of *Deliverer* given him, and so was enter'd in the *Fasti*, and a Temple erected to Liberty ; but above all that of *Imperator* ; not in that Sense as Generals were wont to have it given 'em by their Soldiers after some worthy Exploit ; but as it signify'd the greatest Authority in the Commonwealth. From this *Julius* was deriv'd the Name of *Imperator* or *Emperor*, as likewise that of *Cæsar*, to his Successors ; and this was the first beginning of the *Imperial State of Rome*, tho' it was not perfectly settled till some Years after. *Cæsar* was likewise made *Censor* for his Life-time, so that now most of the Magistracies seem'd to center in him. As for the Consulship, he divested himself of that for a certain time, and created *Fabius* and *Trebonius* Consuls for the rest of the Year, of whom it happen'd that *Fabius* dy'd the last Day of his Magistracy, and *Cæsar* substituted *Canivius* for the remaining Hours ; whereupon *Cicero* jestingly writ in one of his Epistles, *That during the Consulship of Canivius, not a Man din'd ; yet no Harm was committed in that time, for he was wonderfully vigilant, and ne'er slept throughout his whole Consulship.* From this time forward the Consulship grew cheaper,

Di. lxxv.

Perpetual.

U. C.

709.

Imperator.

cheaper, and few held it a whole Year, especially, when all its Authority and ancient Dignity, was, in a manner, swallow'd up by the *Imperial* Power soon after.

Thus *Cæsar* had order'd the Consulship ; but for other Magistrates he pretended he would not concern himself with 'em, but leave 'em to the People to be nam'd, according to the ancient Custom ; but it prov'd only a Pretence, for he made them himself, and sent 'em into the Provinces without the ancient way of *Sortition*. In other Magistrates the same Number was observ'd ; only the *Prætors*, upon the account of the Largeness of the *Roman* Dominions, were increased to sixteen, and the *Quæstors* to forty. Besides he had no other way to gratify those to whom he had made large Promises, and this caus'd him to admit many into the Senate without Distinction, whether the Person was a *Soldier* or a *Libertine* by Original ; so that the Number of the Senate, by this means arose to nine hundred. Many he also brought into the Rank of *Patritians*, *Consulares*, and of those who had born other Offices ; which became a Custom to those who were afterwards *Emperors*. To his Friends he gave much away both in Money and Lands, which was very pleasing to them who made their Designs ; but others took it very heinously, and testify'd their Resentments either by Words or Libels. The Management of Publick Money was now translated from the *Quæstors* to the *Ædiles*, and afterwards return'd no more to 'em, but at length was committed to Persons of *Prætorian* Dignity. Six *Ædiles* were also made, of which two were *Patritians*, called *Curales*, and four *Plebeians*.

U. C. 710 For the following Year *Cæsar* enter'd upon the Consulship again with *Anthony*, who was likewise his *Master of the Horse* ; and now he more closely apply'd himself to the Business of the Commonwealth

16 *Præ-*
tors.

40 *Quæ-*
stors.

900 *Sena-*
tors.

6 *Ædiles.*

wealth than ever. He first took care to pardon all such as had been in Arms against him, and greatly tax'd the Cruelty of *Sylla*, and thereby obtain'd as great a Name for Clemency, as before he had for Valour. Then, to shew his generous Temper, he caus'd *Pompey's* Statues to be set up again, to shew that he esteem'd a great Soul and a magnanimous Spirit, even in his greatest Enemy ; which occasion'd *Cicero* to observe in his Writing, *That Cæsar by restoring Pompey's Statues, secur'd his own.* In this second *Julian* Year, his Collegue *Anthony* procur'd by a Law, that the Month *Quintilis* should, in Honour of his Name, be afterwards call'd *July* ; and many other Laws were made. In the mean time, as he was no ways belov'd by those who were greatest in the Senate ; tho' his Ordinances had no other Design than the Publick Good, they forbore not to vilifie him by their Railleries. Now, tho' *Cæsar* had Informations of their several Discourses, he bore it all with so great a Moderation, that when some other People had yet the Boldness to violate his Reputation by Libels, he never so much as inquir'd after them. All his Designs shew'd the Greatness of his Soul : He made a Proposition for adorning of the City of *Rome* with a magnificent Temple consecrated to *Mars*, and with a Theatre, and likewise the building of a new *Curia* or *Parish* to be call'd *Julia*. He rebuilt *Carthage* and *Corinth*, sending Colonies to both Cities : He undertook to level several Mountains in *Italy*, to drain the *Pontine* Marshes near *Rome*, and to empty the Lakes, Works of prodigious Charge ; and likewise design'd to dig through the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus* by *Corinth*. After these he design'd an Expedition against the *Parthians*, to revenge the Death of *Crassus*, and they being conquer'd, to enter thro' *Hyrcania*, along the Banks of the *Caspian* Sea into *Scythia*, to open himself a Way thro' *Germany* into *Gaul*, and so return to *Rome* : But all these vast De-

Designs soon came to an end, enjoying his Sovereign Authority but five Months.

Cæsar's good Fortune, which had appear'd by so many Victories, his Merit and great Abilities, supported by the Affection of the People, and the Love of his Soldiers, had now rais'd him to a Degree above all other *Romans*. But as it usually happens in Commonwealths, where every one valuing himself upon his own Merit, looks upon absolute Command as a Right which he one Day in his turn may pretend to; so it was now, for that his extraordinary Advancement daily brought upon him the Jealousy of the Senators. In the mean time, in an extravagant manner they continually flatter'd his Vanity with new Honours, preferring him in his Life-time in some sort among the Gods, and declaring his Person sacred and inviolable. They gave him the Title of *Father of his Country*, stamp'd Money with his Image, order'd Publick Sacrifices on his Birthday, and his Statue to be set up in all Cities, and in all the Temples at *Rome*. Some Authors have reported, that he procur'd these Honours by his Authority; others, that they were freely bestow'd upon him. However, his accepting of all that was offer'd him, caus'd him much Hatred from many, which was discover'd more plainly one Day, when the Senate had decreed him some new Honours, and came all in a Body to the Temple of *Venus*, where he was, to acquaint him with their Decree; and he, whether out of a Mistake or Design, rose not up, but receiv'd 'em sitting; which Neglect much offended the Senators, and caus'd 'em to talk very freely and publickly about it, particularly saying, *That he plainly affected the Title of King*. He had indeed the Power in effect, but only wanted the Name, which was odious to the *Romans*. *Cæsar*, who well knew the Effects of that Aversion, very cautiously defended himself from that Odium; and

one

one Day, when some People call'd him *Lord and King*, he made Answer, *That he was Cæsar*. Nevertheless, he often let some Discourses fall, which much promoted the Belief People had of his Ambition; particularly, *That a Republick was nothing but a meer Name and Notion, and that Sylla had discover'd great Ignorance in laying down the Office of Dictator.*

Cæsar shortly after gave a fresh occasion of Suspicion to the People, by his displacing the *Tribunes* for imprisoning some Persons who had put *Diadems* upon his Statues. And by another Instance soon after, he still more plainly discover'd the Affections of the People, at the Celebration of the Feasts call'd *Lupercalia*, where he himself assisted at the Show, seated upon a Tribunal in a Chair of Gold, and his *Triumphal Ornaments*. *Anthony* passing thro' the People, who open'd to make him way, went up to the Tribunal; and presented a Crown to *Cæsar*; some clapp'd their Hands as if they approv'd of it; but when *Cæsar* put the Crown back, there was a general Applause: *Anthony* offer'd it a second time, but still with as little Marks of Satisfaction from the People: *Cæsar* again refus'd it, which was follow'd with loud Acclamations on all sides. *Cæsar*, who had laid this Design before, now plainly understood their Sentiments, and thereupon rising, commanded the Crown to be carry'd to the *Capitol*; nevertheless he was so concern'd, and so little Master of his Disorder, that he said that Night to his Friends, *That he wou'd freely offer his Throat to any Man that would cut it.* And tho' he had a thousand Testimonies of the Hatred he lay under, he so abandon'd himself to his Designs, that from this Moment he neglected all manner of Means of securing himself against his Enemies. When he was advis'd by some not to trust *Brutus* too far, he open'd his Breast, saying, *Do you believe that Brutus cares for such poor Pillage as this?* He was sometimes heard to say, *That he had rather die once by*
B b *Treason,*

Treason, than to be so miserable as always to live in fear of it. And at another time, That the Republick had more Interest in his Preservation than himself; that he had gain'd Glory and Power enough; but after his Death, the Commonwealth wou'd be more harrass'd with Civil Wars than ever it had been. And one Day being at Supper with Lepidus, as his Friends disputed among themselves what Death was easiest, he reply'd to 'em, That which is most sudden, and least foreseen. He disbanded his Company of Spanish Guards, and contented himself with the Protection of his Friends; which Proceeding of his much facilitated an Enterprize upon his Life soon after.

The Design upon *Cæsar's* Life was carry'd on with extraordinary Caution and Secresy, tho' above three-score Senators enter'd into this Conspiracy, the principal whereof was *Brutus*, whose Life *Cæsar* had sav'd after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, and *Cassius*, both *Prætors* at this time: The Name of *Brutus* had been famous in *Rome* ever since *Brutus* the first Consul, under the Foot of whose Statue was found written, *Wou'd to Heaven thou wert alive*; and certain Billets were thrown into the *Prætor's* Tribunal, in these Words, *Brutus thou art asleep, and not a true Brutus. Cassius* was Author of most of these things, and he hated *Cæsar* upon several Accounts, particularly for his naming *Brutus* the eldest *Prætor*, when he was above him in Age, and for his hindring him from giving a publick Show to the People. His Behaviour towards *Cæsar* gave him sufficient Reasons to suspect him; and when his Friends advis'd him to beware of *Anthony* and *Dolabella*, he told 'em, *That it was not those perfum'd and plump Sparks that he distrusted, but those pale and meagre Gentlemen*. Nevertheless he still prepar'd for his Expedition against the *Parthians*, and caus'd sixteen Legions to march, and 10000 Horse for his Passage into *Asia*. He design'd to depart four Days after, when the Conspirators

rators spread a Report, That according to the *Sibyl's* Oracles, the *Parthians* could not be overcome but by a King; and upon this Pretence *Cotta* was to propose the giving him that Title to the Senate. *Cassius* took this Occasion to go and visit *Brutus*, demanding of him, *If he wou'd be at the Senate-House when Cæsar's Friends were to propose the declaring of him King?* *Brutus* told him, *That he would be absent at that time.* But, reply'd *Cassius*, suppose you are called thither? Then, answer'd *Brutus*, *I should think it my Duty to speak, oppose, yea, and die too, rather than part with the Liberty of Rome.* Ah, reply'd *Cassius*, what generous Roman wou'd suffer you to die for his Liberty? You are ignorant, *Brutus*, who you are, if you imagine that those Billets thrown into the Tribunal came from less than the most illustrious and bravest Men of Rome. From other Prætors they demanded Games, Shows, and Plays; but from you, whose very Name is a Terror to Tyrants, they cry for the Ruin and Downfal of Arbitrary Power, being ready to expose themselves to the utmost Hazards, in Expectation of your auspicious Aid. After this Conversation, they parted; but *Brutus* for some time after appear'd much discompos'd in his Thoughts, which occasion'd his Wife *Porcia*, being in Bed with him, earnestly to enquire the Reason of his Trouble. *Brutus* fearing she would disclose the Secret if urg'd to it by Torture, *Porcia* immediately wounded herself on the Thigh, and with a Masculine Courage let him see, *That she fear'd no Torments, nor cou'd act any thing below Cato's Daughter*; by which means she learn'd the whole Design, and became one of the Conspiracy. The Name of *Brutus*, whose Person was much esteem'd, engag'd a great many in the Conspiracy; so they resolv'd to put their Design in Execution upon the very *Ides of March*, and in the Hall of the Senate.

A great many Prodigies and Dreams foretold this Misfortune to *Cæsar*; and *Spurina*, a famous *Augur*,

told him, *That great Dangers threatn'd him upon the Ides of March.* He dream'd the same Night, that he was carry'd above the Clouds, and that he shook Hands with *Jove*; and his Wife *Calpurnia* also dream'd, that her Husband was assassinated in her Arms, the Doors of the Chamber opening at the same time of their own accord with much Noise. This last Accident somewhat confounded him, and his Wife by her Prayers and Tears prevail'd so, that he would not go abroad that Day. But another *Brutus*, call'd *Decimus*, who was one of the Conspirators, tho' of the Number of his intimate Friends, caus'd him to change his Resolution, telling him, *He was much expected at the Senate, and it wou'd be a great Shame for him not to venture out of doors, but when it should please Calpurnia to dream favourably:* So *Decimus* carry'd him almost by force out of his Lodgings; and, as if every thing seem'd to contribute to his Destruction, a Slave, who came to give him Advice of the Conspiracy, cou'd not get up to him, by reason of the Croud of People that surrounded him. *Artimedorus*, his Host and Friend, having given him a Letter to the same purpose, he mingled it, without reading of it, among other Papers that were given him: And *Lena*, who was one of the Conspirators, entertaining him a considerable time in private as he came out of his Litter; the others, who believ'd themselves discover'd, thought already of killing themselves with the Daggers which they had under their Robes, when *Lena* quitted *Cæsar*, and kissing his Hand, gave them to understand, that he thank'd him for some Favour which he came to obtain.

The Assembly of the Senate was at this time held in a Place which *Pompey* had built for that purpose, and from thence was call'd the *Court*, or *Hall*, of *Pompey*, where was to be seen his Statue in Marble, rais'd upon a Pedestal. *Cæsar*, as he was entring, met *Spurina*,

rina, and smiling, told him, *The Ides of March were come: Yes*, reply'd the *Augur*, *but they are not past*. As soon as he had taken his Place, the Conspirators mov'd towards him under Pretence of saluting him, and *Tullius Cymber* approach'd to ask Pardon for his Brother who was then in Exile. *Cæsar* deferr'd the Matter, and put back *Cymber*, who press'd upon him so far as to take hold on both sides of his Robe; and when *Cæsar* cry'd out, *That this was Violence*; *Casca*, who stood behind him, gave him the first Stab with a Poniard nigh the Shoulder; but the Weapon glancing, the Wound was not mortal. *Cæsar* struck *Casca* through the Arm with his Dagger, crying out, *Vile Traitor, what do you mean?* *Casca*, on the other side, call'd his Brother, and *Cæsar* would have rais'd himself, but he receiv'd a mortal Wound in his Breast; and all the Conspirators charg'd upon him together with so much Fury, that many of 'em were wounded themselves. He nevertheless made great Resistance, rushing and leaping among 'em like a Lion, till perceiving *Brutus* with his Dagger in his Hand, he struggled no more, but cry'd, *What, my Son, Brutus, and thou too?* Then covering his Face with his Robe, and drawing his Skirts down to his Knees, that he might fall decently, he sunk down at the Foot of *Pompey's* Statue, having receiv'd Three and twenty Wounds, and the rest of the Senate looking on with Wonder and Amazement, not being able to assist him.

Thus fell the Great *Julius Cæsar*, in the 56th Year of his Age, in the Court of *Pompey*, and at the Feet of *Pompey's* Statue; a Person of the greatest Soul, the most magnanimous Spirit, and of the most wonderful Accomplishments and Abilities that *Rome*, or perhaps the World, ever saw; whether we consider him in his Care and Vigilance, in his Valour and Conduct, or in his Knowledge and Learning; all which noble Qualities made him belov'd and reverenc'd by

the People, honour'd and ador'd by his Friends, and esteem'd and admir'd even by his Enemies. And setting aside his Ambition, which was the Fault of the Times as well as his Temper, he was never much, or justly tax'd with any great Vice, but that of Women. His Death put an end to the first *Triumvirate*, or rather the Power occasion'd by the first *Triumvirate*, but did not re-establish the Consular Authority, nor restore the Liberty of the Commonwealth, but occasion'd its Ruin shortly after, with as great Miseries as *Rome* ever suffer'd. It happen'd in the 710th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3961. about 16 Years after the beginning of the *Triumvirate*, and 42 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. IV.

From the Death of Cæsar, to the Defeats of, and Deaths of Brutus and Cassius, by the second Triumvirate, Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus; which ruin'd all the Remains of the Commonwealth.

Containing the Space of above Two Years.

U. C. I. **U**Pon the Death of *Cæsar*, so great a Confusion
710. and Disorder happen'd among the Senate and People of *Rome*, that the Conspirators soon perceiv'd that their Fact was not like to meet with the general Approbation which some expected. All the Senators, who were not Accomplices, fled with such haste and Precipitation from the Assembly, that some of 'em were in Danger of their Lives as they press'd
out

out of doors ; and the People alarm'd at the News, left all their several Employments, ran tumultuously about all Parts of the City, some for Information, some for Safety, and others for Plunder. Which Disturbances caus'd the Conspirators all to retire to the *Capitol*, to which they were guarded by a considerable number of Gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus*. What they gave out to justify themselves to the People was *Liberty* ; but that Pretence was not much regarded by them, for they had been so used to submit of late, and were so changed from their ancient jealous and vigorous Temper, that they much more dreaded the Effects of Poverty than Subjection. *Anthony*, now Consul, and *Lepidus*, were extremely enrag'd at *Cæsar's* Death, and were resolv'd to revenge it to the utmost ; therefore the latter immediately got to a Legion of his just by, and led 'em into the *Campus Martius*, where *Anthony*, as Consul, commanded 'em. This much surpriz'd the Conspirators, and put 'em upon sending Deputies to *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, desiring 'em to consider the sad Consequences of a Division at this time ; that no Hatred to *Cæsar's* Person had put them upon that Design, but only their hearty Loves to their Country, which had already been so drain'd by Civil Wars, that any new Disunion must carry off the miserable Remainder ; that they believ'd them also too generous to let any particular Hatred transport them to the Prejudice of the Publick. *Anthony* began to consider, that *Decimus*, who was now Governor of the *Hither Gaul*, might fall upon him with a powerful Army ; therefore he resolv'd to gain what Time he cou'd, and endeavour'd to get over *Decimus's* Soldiers ; and for that reason return'd Answer, *That tho' their Honours and their Oaths had engag'd 'em to revenge Cæsar's Death, and tho' they thought it more honourable to live without Reproach among a few good Men, than to draw upon themselves the Miseries due to Falshood ; yet they were not obstinate, but were content to have the Se-*

nate assembled, that they might be govern'd by so many illustrious and discerning Persons: Which Answer was receiv'd with much Satisfaction.

The Senate was immediately call'd, where a great many Debates arose, and several Opinions were urg'd, which at last terminated in this, *That they had but two things to chuse, either to declare Cæsar a Tyrant, or that his Murderers stood in need of Pardon.* Anthony industriously oppos'd the former, urging, *That if the Memory of Cæsar were condemn'd, all his Orders ought to be cancell'd; and that wou'd be in effect to proclaim so many illustrious Men as he had rais'd, unworthy of their Honours; which, besides drawing upon themselves the Contempt of other Nations, wou'd infallibly turn to the Confusion of the Commonwealth.* After many violent Heats and Disturbances in the House, and great Tumults at the Doors, the Senate at last pass'd an Act of Oblivion for all what was past, and ratify'd *Cæsar's Ordinances*, with this Reason enter'd, *Because it was requisite for the Good of the Commonwealth.* This Act of Oblivion brought Matters to a more peaceable Posture; but Anthony finding the People much discontented, resolv'd to pursue his Revenge upon the Conspirators, tho' he was seemingly reconcil'd to 'em. The next Day therefore he order'd *Cæsar's Will* to be publickly read before the Body of the People, which he knew wou'd have a considerable Influence upon 'em; which Danger the Conspirators had been so sensible of, that they us'd their utmost Endeavour to hinder its being read. In the Will it appear'd that *Octavius*, the Grandson of *Julia*, *Cæsar's* Sister, was adopted to take upon him his Name, and constituted Heir of three Parts in four of all his Estate, and *Pinarus* and *Pedius* of the other fourth Part. To the Roman People he left the Gardens which he had on the other side of the *Tiber*, and to every Citizen in particular, a certain Sum of Money. Among his second Heirs, who were to inherit in case of Mortality,

lity, he substituted *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators. Several others also who had dipp'd their Hands in his Blood, were nam'd for Guardians for his Son, in case he had left one. These Tokens of *Cæsar's* Goodness, and his great Affection for the People, began to move the Multitude extremely; But *Brutus's* being an Heir, provok'd the Indignation of the whole Assembly.

Immediately after this, *Cæsar's* Body was brought forth with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, being borne by some of the most Illustrious of the Senate: It was set down in the middle of the *Forum*, with a Guard of Soldiers; in which Place was erected a little Temple of gilded Wood, according to the Model of that of *Venus*; and in this Temple was a Bed of Ivory, magnificently adorn'd with Curtains of Gold and Purple Trophies, and the Robe that he wore when he was assassinated. All the People ran hastily to see this Sight, weeping and lamenting afresh, and those who bore Arms made deep Complaints, as if they demanded Vengeance. *Anthony* ascending the Place, began *Cæsar's* Funeral Oration in this manner: Romans, *tho' I alone present my self to celebrate the Memory of this great Man, whose Body you see thus mangled here before ye, yet I can read in each Man's Look the Affections of his Mind, and the Thoughts of his Heart, which give nobler Praises than my Tongue can express: So that when I shall recount to you the Extent of his glorious Actions, the Variety of his Noble Virtues, and the Number of the deserved Honours which the Senate and you have conferr'd upon him, I shall not be so much the Publisher of my own Sentiments, as the Interpreter of Yours.* Then he mention'd all his Titles of Honour, his Dictatorship, his several Consulships, with the most deserving Name of *Father of his Country*; from whence he proceeded to his Virtues, praising his generous Courage, his exquisite Learning, his free Spirit, and, above all, his unbounded Cle-

Clemency. After which he repeated the Oath which the People of *Rome* had made to *Caesar*, by which they swore, *That his Person should be Sacred and Inviolable, and call'd the Gods to witness that they would defend it with the hazard of their Lives.* But observing some Alteration in several of the Senators, he concluded with saying, *That what had been done, ought rather to be forgotten, since it was the Crime of some infernal Spirits, Enemies to Rome, rather than Men; and nothing ought further to be thought of, than the honouring the Memory of this illustrious Hero, and placing him among the Immortal Gods.*

At the end of this Oration, one of the principal Attendants, as if some Fury had possess'd him, tore off *Caesar's* Robe from the Trophy, and shew'd it to the People, crying out, *That it was the Spoil of a Person belov'd of the Gods, and reverenc'd by the World even to Adoration.* This and several other things he spoke in a most moving Tone, using many great Outcries and strange Postures of Sorrow, which extremely stirr'd up the People's Compassion. At the same time was expos'd *Caesar's* Image in Wax, which mov'd it self by Springs, and shew'd the several Wounds which he had receiv'd upon his Face and in his Body, and this Sight transported the People even to Madness, and made 'em cry out, *That they wou'd inflict the most cruel Punishments, and execute the most dreadful Revenges upon the Heads of all his Murtherers.* Upon the lighting of the Pile, all the old Soldiers who had serv'd under him, with an unexpressible Grief, threw into the Fire all their Coronets, Pikes, Bracelets, and other Tokens of Honours which he had given 'em. A great many Ladies of Quality also threw in their Children's Robes and Ornaments, with every thing they had of Value about 'em. The People ran and tore up the Benches and Seats of the Magistrates just by, and after that, with flaming Brands from the Pile, ran desperately to set fire to the

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the Conspirators Houses ; and meeting with one *Cinna*, whom they mistook for another of that Name, they immediately tore him in a thousand Pieces. The Conspirators themselves being of the greatest Families, and well guarded, with no great Trouble, repuls'd the People ; but nevertheless so great was the Rage and Threats of the People, that they thought it much more safe to retire from the City. All the Strangers in *Rome* mourn'd after their Customs, and more particularly the *Jews*, who watch'd several Nights at *Cæsar's* Pile. At last Divine Honours were given him, and an Altar erected in the Place of his Burning, where *Octavius Cæsar*, afterwards call'd *Augustus*, caus'd a Temple to be built, and a Pillar of Jasper, twenty Foot high, with this Inscription ; *To the Father of his Country*.

At the same time that *Cæsar* was kill'd, his Heir and adopted Son *Octavius*, afterwards call'd *Augustus*, was at *Apollonia* in *Greece*, who upon the first News of the Murther, notwithstanding the earnest Advice of his Friends to secure himself there, return'd to *Rome* with all speed, with a full Resolution to revenge his Death ; not questioning but to find *Anthony* both a Friend and Assistant in this Design. But *Anthony* now was so much chang'd, and so busy employ'd in his Projects of raising and advancing himself, that he could hearken but little to such a Proposal ; and when *Octavius* publicly declar'd himself *Cæsar's* Heir, and demanded his Money of *Anthony*, or at least some part of it, he receiv'd him with great Coldness, and Contempt of his Youth, refusing to give him any upon several Pretences. Yet neither *Anthony's* Repulses, nor his Friends Advices to the contrary, cou'd stop *Octavius* from pursuing his Designs, who was now about Eighteen Years old, of a great Wit, a lofty Mind, and of a most insinuating Conversation, and had a Face so comely and graceful, that it acquir'd him

him a Veneration from all Men. That he might be certain to gain the People's Hearts, he sold all his Inheritance to pay off the Legacies given 'em by his Uncle *Cæsar's* Will, which procur'd him much Love, and *Cæsar's* old Soldiers flock'd to him in considerable Numbers, whom he accepted of out of Fear to *Anthony*, who daily became more suspicious both to the Senate and People. *Octavius* manag'd his Affairs with so much Skill and Dexterity, that those who before admir'd at his Boldness of opposing *Anthony*, were now as much surpriz'd at his extraordinary Address and Authority. *Anthony*, on the other side, being sensible of the passionate Affection the People had for *Pompey*, to curry Favour, propos'd the promoting *Sextus*, his only surviving Son; that in requital of his Father's Estate confiscated, he might have an Allowance out of the Publick, and the same Command of the Seas and Navy that his Father formerly had. This was receiv'd with great Applause, and strait enacted; so *Pompey* was call'd back into *Sicily*, where he afterwards manag'd a sharp War against *Octavius*.

Anthony was still restless, and resolv'd, if it were possible, to procure some Province to be assign'd him, that he might get the greater Authority; and the Difference daily increasing between him and *Octavius*, he desir'd to command the six Legions which lay in *Macedonia*, and obtain'd them by deceiving the Senate with a false Rumour, that the *Geta* hearing of *Cæsar's* Death, had invaded that Province. And because the Senate shew'd great Unwillingness to this Demand, and more Jealousy of his Power, he endeavour'd to satisfy 'em, by preferring a Law against any Man's being *Dictator* for the future, and making it Death for any to offer at it. These Legions he design'd to bring over into *Italy*, to awe and command all; and the better to effect this, he preferr'd another Law for changing of Provinces,
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and by that procur'd *Macedonia* for his Brother *C. Antonius*, which had been assign'd to *M. Brutus*, and the *hither Gaul* for himself, which had been allotted to *Decimus Brutus*. The Senate wou'd by no means admit of this Demand, but sent to *D. Brutus*, to strengthen himself against the Pretensions of Anthony; which caus'd Anthony to betake himself to the People, where partly by Force, and partly by Bribes, he obtain'd it. But still he was not altogether so successful as he expected; for his daily Quarrels with *Octavius*, and his little Care of revenging *Cæsar's* Death, gain'd him the Hatred of his Soldiers; so that when he had brought over his Legions, two of 'em went over to *Octavius*, who now was very busy in going through all *Italy*, and gathering together Soldiers out of the Colonies which his Uncle had planted. At length Anthony with a considerable Army march'd into *Gaul*, from whence he commanded *Decimus Brutus* to depart, who gave way to him for some time; but at last retreated to *Mutina*, where Anthony soon after straitly besig'd him: And thus a new War broke out in about three quarters of a Year after *Cæsar's* Death.

II. About this time new Consuls were made, which were *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, both great Friends of *Julius Cæsar*, as well as Intimates of *Cicero*, the former of which serv'd under *Cæsar*, and gave the relation of the Wars of *Ægypt* and *Africk*, which is annex'd to his Commentaries. Upon their assembling the Senate, Anthony was declar'd Enemy to the State, but especially by *Cicero's* Means, who now had made many ingenious and severe Invectives against him, which, in Imitation of *Demosthenes*, he publish'd under the Name of *Philippicks*. This prov'd of great Advantage towards the bringing in, and preferring young *Octavius*; for tho' the Senate, as being generally of *Pompey's* Faction, had little or no Esteem for him,

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him, yet they resolv'd to make use of him for his Army's sake, and upon that account erected him a Statue, made him a Senator, tho' at this Age, decreed that he should be consider'd as ten Years older in respect of Publick Preferment, and likewise gave him equal Power and Authority with the Consuls themselves, whom they sent with all speed to relieve *Decimus*, now besieg'd by *Anthony*. Tho' the Senate had oblig'd *Octavius* by these Honours, yet their promoting and giving Provinces to all the Conspirators, much more displeas'd him; and a Letter from *Anthony*, upbraiding him with advancing and assisting *Cæsar's Murderers*, gave him great Scruples; but concealing his Designs with a Prudence surpassing his Age, he march'd with the Consuls. The Consuls in a short time took *Bononia*, and *Anthony* shortly after meeting *Pansa*, overthrew him; but returning carelessly to his Camp, was worsted by *Hirtius*. Not many Days after, a general Battel was fought nigh *Mutina*, wherein *Anthony* with much Difficulty, and great Bloodshed, was defeated, and fled to *Lepidus*, who then commanded in the further *Gaul*. Both the Consuls died of their Wounds, *Pansa* first advising *Octavius* to join with *Anthony*; and *Decimus* being at this time spar'd, tho' not pardon'd, by *Octavius*, thought of getting to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, now in *Greece*; but his Soldiers, not pleas'd with the Journey, went over part to *Octavius*, and part to *Anthony*; and himself, endeavouring with a few Attendants to pass thro' *Gaul*, was taken and betray'd at *Aqueleia* by *Sequanus* Governor of the Country, who sent his Head to *Anthony*. This was the End of one of the chief Conspirators, which was attended with the Deaths of *Trebonius* and *Basilus* much about the same time; the former excluding *Dolabella* from *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, by reason the Senate had declar'd him an Enemy, was taken by him, and after grievous Torments, had his Head cut off,

off, which the Soldiers kick'd about after a most contemptuous manner ; and the latter was murder'd by his own Slaves, whom before he had us'd very severely.

Octavius gain'd much Reputation in these Wars ; but the Senate now finding little or no Occasion for him, slighted him extreamly, and decreed all the Honour that he gain'd, to *Decimus*, whom he had reliev'd : Besides, they gave him many detracting and reproachful Words, and deny'd him a Triumph when he demanded it. From this moment he resolv'd to join with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, sending back all the Prisoners taken at the Battel of *Mutina* without Ransom ; for since the Senators were most against his Uncle, he cou'd not revenge his Death without some new Assistance ; and at the same time that he wrote to these two, he sent 400 of his Soldiers into the City, in the Name of his Army, to demand the Consulship for him. The Senate was as ready to deny him as the other two were to join with him ; which caus'd *Octavius* to send for *Anthony* and *Lepidus* into *Italy*. The News of their Approach, and at the Head of seventeen Legions, so terrify'd and startled the Senate, that they immediately declar'd *Octavius* Consul with *Pedius* ; but upon the sudden Arrival of some new Troops, they as soon repeal'd their Decree again ; and never was the Senate of *Rome* so distracted between different Interests, and so guilty of Irresolution, as at this time. These new Troops not answering their Expectations, the Senate again decreed him Consul, and moreover advanc'd him above all Example : They decreed, that after his Consulship he should take place of all Consuls ; and tho' formerly they were displeas'd with his levying Forces, as being a private Man, now they desir'd him to increase his Army, and order'd him the Legions of *Decimus*. The City was likewise committed to his Care, and Power given him to act what he

he pleas'd, tho' without the Prescript of the Laws, which he retain'd to his Death. So that *Octavius* now, with no great Difficulty, procur'd Laws to condemn *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with their several Accomplices, and likewise to cancel those Decrees made against *Dolabella*, and others of his Friends.

In a short time after *Octavius's* Consulship, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* arriv'd in *Italy*, where *Octavius* met 'em nigh *Mutina*, and after three Days Conference enter'd into a strict Combination with them; in which it was agreed, That *Octavius* should quit his Consulship, and leave the Title to *Ventidius*, *Anthony's* great Friend: That the Supreme Authority should be divided between these three, which they should keep for the space of five Years under the Name of *Triumviri*, and in Quality of the Reformers of the Commonwealth: That they should cause that Authority to be confirm'd by the Roman People: That *Anthony* should have all Gaul, except *Narbon*, which *Lepidus* was to have with *Spain*, and *Octavius* should have *Africk*, with *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: *Italy* and the Eastern Provinces were for a while to remain in common. In this manner did these Men divide the World between 'em, as if it had been their Inheritance. They further agreed, That all their Enemies should be destroy'd; and in this the Case of *Cicero* caus'd the greatest Controversy; for *Anthony*, his implacable Enemy, wou'd consent to nothing till his Death was determin'd: *Lepidus* was content with it, but *Octavius* wou'd willingly have preserv'd him, upon the Account of former Friendship; yet at last he consented, and for that Reason *Lepidus* permitted his Brother *Paulus*, and *Anthony* his Uncle *Lucius*, to be likewise proscrib'd. Lastly, it was agreed, That *Lepidus* should be made Consul for the following Year, and guard *Rome* and *Italy*, while the other two manag'd the War against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who now were strongly possess'd of *Greece* and *Syria*, and had lately taken *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*, and
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beheaded him. In this manner was concluded the second *Triumvirate*, the Consequences whereof were so dreadful, and which in effect gave the last Blow to the Liberty of the *Roman Commonwealth*. It was concluded on above a Year and a half after *Julius Caesar's* Death, and was introduc'd, as some Authors report, with many strange Presages and frightful Prodigies.

III. Now was the City of *Rome* in a very miserable and deplorable Condition; for the first thing done by the *Triumviri*, after Establishment of their Authority, was a dreadful *Proscription* of 300 of the *Senatorian*, and about 2000 of the *Equestrian* Rank; and nothing but Cries and Lamentations were heard through all the City, and Murders committed in all Places by the Soldiers. No Man dare refuse Entrance to any of 'em, who search'd the most secret Places; and *Rome* at this time appear'd like a City wholly expos'd to Waste and Pillage. Great Numbers of uncondemn'd Persons perish'd in this Confusion; some by Malice or Mistake, and others for concealing or defending their Friends: In short, all the most Tragick Fury that either Revenge or Interest could produce, and all the most generous Kindness that Love or Fidelity cou'd inspire, were to be seen in divers Accidents relating to this *Proscription*. Though the Pretence was the revenging of *Cæsar's* Death, yet many suffer'd upon the Account of their great Estates, others out of Malice and old Resentments, and some for their convenient Houses and Gardens. Among those of greatest Note was the famous *Varro*, who now living to see and feel a second *Trecipitina*, as he calls it in his Writings, yet with much Difficulty escap'd with his Life. But *Cicero* was the Man most aim'd at by *Anthony*, which caus'd him to get on board a Ship with all speed: but not being able to endure the Sea, he return'd to

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The Second *Triumvirate*.

Land, saying, *That he would die in his own Country, which he had so often preserv'd.* Being weary both of his Flight and his Life, he came to a small Village a little above a Mile from the Sea. Here his Servants, terrify'd by several Prodigies, partly by Persuasion, and partly by Force, put him again into his Litter, and were carrying him back to the Sea. But Cicero perceiving those that came to apprehend him, order'd his Litter to be set down, and quietly laid out his Neck to *Popilius Lena*, the *Tribune*, whom formerly by his Eloquence he had sav'd from Condemnation. *Lena* cut off his Head and Hands, which he presented to *Anthony*, who could not forbear insulting over those poor Members, and crying out, *That his Revenge was compleated, and he had no farther occasion for the Proscription.* But his Wife *Fulvia's* Hatred cou'd not be confin'd to Words, for she pierc'd his Tongue several times with a Golden Bodkin, after a most spiteful manner; and *Anthony* order'd his Head and Hands to be set up upon the *Rostrum*, where the People cou'd not without Horror behold those sad Remains of a Man who had so often triumph'd there by the Force and Charms of his Eloquence. Thus fell the great Cicero, in the sixty third Year of his Age; *A Man*, as *Julius Caesar* observes, *that obtain'd a Laurel as much above all Triumphs, as the Enlargement of the Bounds of the Roman Wit was above that of the Bounds of the Roman Empire.*

About the same time, *Quintius*, Cicero's Brother, was slain, together with all his Sons; but Cicero's Sons escap'd, for he had some time before sent 'em to *Athens* to be there educated. Still the City was fill'd with Slaughters, and the ordinary Price of the Head of a *Proscrib'd* Person brought to the *Triumviri*, was 100000 Sesterces, if done by a Freeman, and half as much if done by a Slave, with the Freedom of the City. This corrupted a great many, who forgetting both Duty and Natural Affection, betray'd

tray'd those whose Preservation they ought principally to have endeavour'd. Tho' many rare and admirable Examples of the Love of Wives to their Husbands, and of Slaves to their Masters, appear'd, yet those of Children to their Parents were less common. However, *Oppius's* Act may stand for many, who, *Æneas*-like, carry'd out his old and decrepid Father upon his Back, and convey'd him to the Sea, sometimes leading, and othertimes carrying him, till they both escap'd into *Sicily*; from whence afterwards, upon his Return, the People, out of a just sense of his Piety, made him *Ædile*, in which Office, wanting Money to set out the usual Games, the Workmen did all without Wages, and the Spectators enrich'd him by their voluntary Contributions. As many as cou'd escape the Cruelty of the Proscription, fled either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africk* to *Cornificius*; but the greatest Number went to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, who was now very powerful, especially by Sea. His Generosity was at this time a very great Succour to many illustrious Persons; he sent Brigantines and other small Vessels to all the Coast of *Italy*, to receive such as made their Escape, and treated them with much Kindness and Civility.

The *Triumviri* having almost satisfy'd their Revenge, began now to think of Money, which they very much wanted to carry on the War against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: For this Reason they drew up a List of 1400 of the richest Ladies of *Rome*, Mothers, Daughters, or any Relations of their Enemies: These Alliances were far enough fetch'd, for Riches alone was sufficient to make 'em guilty in this Case. These Ladies assembling themselves, first went to the Female Relations of the *Triumviri*, and after that to the Palace of these Magistrates, where, after several Repulses, one of 'em was permitted to speak, upon condition that the rest wou'd be silent: This was

Hortensia, the Daughter of *Hortensius*, who alone had been able to dispute with *Cicero* for Eloquence; *My Lords*, said she, *these unhappy Ladies*, which you see here imploring your Justice and Bounty, would never have presum'd to appear in this Place, had they not first made use of all possible Means, which either their native Modesty might allow, or their best Understandings cou'd inform 'em. Tho' it be contrary to the Rules of Decency prescrib'd to our Sex, which we have hitherto most strictly observ'd; yet the Loss of our Fathers, of our Children, of our Brothers, and of our Husbands, is sufficient to excuse us; nay, and to vindicate us too, when their unhappy Deaths are made a Pretence for our further Misfortunes. You pretend ye have been affronted, but what have the Women done that they must be impoverish'd? If they are as blameable as the rest, why do you not proscribe them too? In the mean time none of our Sex have ever declar'd you your Country's Enemies; We have neither plunder'd your Goods, nor suborn'd your Soldiers: We have rais'd no Troops against you, nor oppose those Honours and Offices to which you pretend. We pretend not to govern the Republick, nor is it our Ambition which has drawn the present Miseries and Misfortunes on our Heads; Empire, Dignities, and Honours, were never design'd for our Sex. We, alas! have done nothing to affront you, nothing to offend you, or so much as move you to this severe Treatment; a Treatment which neither *Cæsar* nor *Pompey* ever propos'd in their Wars, nor *Marius* nor *Cinna* ever thought of in their Cruelties; no, nor *Sylla* himself, who first set up Tyranny in Rome: Yet, after all, you adorn your selves with the glorious Title of Reformers of the State. This Discourse appear'd so bold and dangerous to the *Triumviri*, that they immediately sent their Ushers to cause the Ladies to retire; but perceiving the Multitude began to cry out against such Violence, they adjourn'd the Affair till the next Day; and, for the Satisfaction of the People, retrench'd the Number of the Ladies to 400, but at the same time tax'd above 100000 Men, as well Citizens

tizens as Strangers. At last the *Triumviri* went into the Senate to declare that the Proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* excus'd himself for what had pass'd, assuring the Senators of a more moderate Conduct: But *Octavius* more politickly said, *He wou'd still reserve to himself the Liberty of punishing such as were guilty.* After this, *Anthony* and *Octavius* with all Diligence march'd against *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

IV. The Conspirators had now made a considerable Progress in the *East*, and *Cassius* having got all *Syria* into his Power, thought of making an Expedition into *Ægypt* against *Cleopatra*, who had made great Preparations to assist *Cæsar* and his Party. But *Cassius* was immediately recall'd by *Brutus* upon the News that *Anthony* and *Cæsar* were now upon their March with forty Legions; of which eight had already pass'd the *Ionian Sea*. *Brutus* in his Letter told him, *That their powerful Armies were not design'd for their particular Advancement, but the Liberty of their Country; therefore they ought not so much to aim at the Glory of new Conquests, as the Destroying those who sought the Ruin of that Liberty.* *Cassius* therefore leaving *Syria* to his Brother's Son with one single Legion, he sent a considerable Party into *Cappadocia*, which slew *Ariobarzanes*, as one who had conspir'd against him, and there rais'd vast Sums of Money. After many severe Exactions, he came himself into the *Lesser Asia*, and meeting *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, they there consulted about the present War. *Brutus* mov'd to have the Armies pass over into *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and there meet *Octavius* and *Anthony*; but *Cassius* so far prevail'd, as to have the *Rhodians* and *Lycians* first reduc'd, who had refus'd to pay any Contributions, and were very powerful at Sea. Both were sensible how dangerous it was to have any Enemies behind 'em; therefore this Expedition was immediately put in Execution, and in a short time compleated, and

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extraordinary Contributions were rais'd by that means. The *Rhodians* were severely plunder'd, and scarce any thing but their Lives left 'em; but the Inhabitants of *Xanthus* made such an obstinate Resistance, that scarce any were left alive, for they burnt their City, and destroy'd themselves with it. After the reducing of these Places, *Brutus* and *Cassius* met at *Sardis*, from whence, after several Consultations, they resolv'd to march against *Anthony* and *Octavius*.

Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have seen a Ghost in his Tent after Midnight. He ever employ'd the greatest part of the Night in dispatching of Affairs, and in Reading; and one Night being thus employ'd, according to his Custom, there was a general Silence through all the Camp, especially about his Tent, when of a sudden he heard an unusual Noise at the Door, which open'd of it self at the same time. *Brutus* casting his Eye towards the Place, perceiv'd the frightful Figure of a hideous Spectre, of a Proportion much more than natural, which presented it self before him: He had notwithstanding the Courage to speak to it, demanding, *Art thou a God, or art thou a Man, and for what Reason camest thou hither?* *I am*, reply'd the Spirit, *thy Evil Genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me again near Philippi.* *Brutus* very boldly answer'd, *Well, I will see thee;* and immediately it disappear'd. He presently call'd up his Slaves, who all told him, *That they had neither seen nor heard any thing.* He continu'd walking all the rest of the Night, and early in the Morning went to give an Account of what happen'd to *Cassius*, who, being an *Epicurean*, told him, *That all this proceeded from the Weakness of his Senses, and the Strength of his Imagination at that time.* As for the rest, continu'd he, let us not believe that there are any such Spirits here, that have either Voice, human Shape, or Power over us; tho' I could wish there were

were, that we might not only rely upon the Greatness of our Forces, but likewise upon the Assistance of those Immortal Beings, who cou'd not but be favourable to a Cause so Just and Sacred as ours is. This Discourse satisfy'd Brutus, and soon after they pass'd over into Thrace, and so to Philippi, a City between that Country and Macedonia, nigh which the Forces of the *Triumviri* were posted.

It was with extraordinary Fear and Terror that all Persons stood waiting the Success of these two powerful Armies, which were to decide the Fate and Fortune of the Roman Empire. The Conspirators Forces consisted of 19 Legions, and 20000 Horse, and the *Triumviri* of the same Number of Legions, but much better compleated, and of 13000 Horse. Brutus and Cassius encamp'd on a high and convenient Ground nigh the Sea, where they were supply'd with Provisions in abundance. The other Party was much straighten'd for want of Necessaries, having only Macedonia and Thessaly open to 'em; for Pompey had cut off all Communication from Africk, and Marcus and Ænobarbus from Italy, by their several Navies. This made Anthony extreamly desirous of coming to a Battle; which Cassius being sensible of, refus'd to engage, tho' Brutus was very forward, saying, *That he was impatient to put an end to the Miseries of Mankind, by a glorious Victory, or a noble Death.* At last Anthony, with great Labour and Industry, made a Way through a large Fen, and Cassius threw up Works against him, which, with the Soldiers forwardness, caus'd a general Battle, tho' much against Cassius's Will, who declar'd, *That he was forc'd, in the same manner as Pompey was, to expose the Liberty of the Roman People to the hazard of a Battle.* In the Morning just before the Battle, Cassius ask'd Brutus's Opinion of what they ought to do if they were unsuccessful; and Brutus reply'd, *That he had formerly in his Writings condemn'd the Death of*

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Cato, and maintain'd that such a manner of avoiding Disgraces, was an insolent Attempt against Heaven that sent 'em; but that he had now alter'd his Opinion, since he was not Master of his Life, having already sacrific'd it to his Country, he was resolv'd to change it for a happier, if Fortune prov'd his Enemy. Cassius embracing him, told him, Now we may venture against the Enemy; for either we will be Conquerors our selves, or will have no Cause to fear those that are so.

The Forces of the *Triumviri* were commanded by Anthony alone, Octavius being now sick; and both Armies being drawn up, Brutus's Party in a short time attack'd that of Octavius with little Order, but with so much Fury, that at the first Onset they overthrew all that oppos'd, and pressing forward with great Slaughter, they enter'd the very Camp of Octavius, who had just retreated to Anthony's; Anthony was very hotly engag'd with Cassius, but in a short time found means to open a Passage thro' the Lines, and charging Cassius's Troops upon the Flank, overthrew 'em with great Slaughter; then pursuing the Victory, he soon became Master of his Camp; which Skill and Diligence he had learnt from Julius Caesar. Cassius retir'd to a Hill not far off, expecting the Event of the Battel on his Partner's side; and by reason of the Greatness of the Dust, he could not discern whose Cavalry it was that made towards him at a distance: He therefore sent Titinius to make the Discovery. Titinius was receiv'd with great Joy by 'em, who were bringing Tidings of Victory, but staid so long, that Cassius fearing Brutus had been routed, and his Friend taken Prisoner, cry'd out, *Alas! to preserve the Remainers of a miserable Life, I have ruin'd my best Friend.* At these Words he retir'd into his Tent, and kill'd himself, or caus'd his freed Man to do it. Titinius arriv'd immediately after with the Cavalry, all rejoicing; but their Joy was suddenly dash'd, and Titinius first accusing himself of Folly

Folly and Laziness, in a great Rage flew himself upon the Body of his Friend.

Brutus was extremely sorrowful for the Death of his Companion, whom he call'd the *last of the Romans*, causing his Body privately to be remov'd and bury'd out of sight, lest his Army should be too much dejected. In the mean time he told his Friends, *That he thought Cassius very happy in being beyond the reach of those Misfortunes which remain'd for them to suffer.* He for some little time kept from Fighting, expecting to starve his Enemies, who were now in extreme want of Provisions, their Fleet being lately defeated; but at last, being forc'd to it by the Fear of a general Desertion, and the Eagerness of his Soldiers, he drew 'em up in *Battalia*. It is reported, that the Spectre which he had seen before, appear'd to him again the Night before this great Battel, but now said nothing. Whatever melancholy Apprehensions he had upon him, he encourag'd his Men as much as possible, promising 'em *the Liberty of plundering the two Cities of Lacedæmon and Theſſalonica*; and when the Battel began, the Eagerness of both Parties made 'em throw aside their missive Weapons, and betake themselves immediately to their Swords, fighting with great Fury, till after much time, and more Bloodshed, *Brutus's* Party was borne down by main Force, and intirely defeated. *Brutus* himself fled to a Hill hard by, and there remain'd all Night; and when in the Morning he saw no way of escaping, he began to cry out, *O unhappy Vertue, I follow thee as a solid Good, but thou art only a meer Notion, a vain empty Name, or at best a Slave of Fortune.* Yet shortly after he told some of his Friends, *That he look'd upon himself much happier than any of his Conquerors, since he shou'd enjoy that Reputation which always follows Vertue, and which Tyranny and Injustice cou'd never deserve.* Then going aside with a particular Friend call'd *Strato*, he with all Earnestness begg'd
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of him, To shew him the last Office of his Friendship; and seeing him very unwilling to perform so hard a Duty, he call'd for a Slave. *Ah!* then cry'd *Strato*, it shall never be said, that the great *Brutus*, in his last Extremity, stood in need of a Slave for want of a Friend; so turning away his Head, he presented the Sword's Point to *Brutus*, who threw himself upon it, and immediately expir'd.

This was the End of those two memorable Persons, *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and, as some write, they themselves dy'd by the same Weapons with which they kill'd *Cæsar*, who had given 'em their Lives after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, and after that, had loaden 'em with his greatest Favours; which Favours some make use of to aggravate the Ingratitude, and others to magnifie the Justice of the Act. All such as knew themselves guilty of *Julius Cæsar's* Death, slew themselves with their own Hands; but the rest rallying themselves, sent Deputies to *Cæsar* and *Anthony* for an honourable Composition, which the two Generals frankly allow'd of. By this famous Overthrow the *Triumviri* establish'd their Authority so far as to give the last Blow to the Liberty of the Commonwealth; for the Opposition they met from *Pompey* was inconsiderable in respect of this, in which they were to dispute for one half of the *Roman* Dominions. This happen'd above two Years after *Julius Cæsar's* Death, and about half a Year after the second *Triumvirate*, in the 712th Year of the City, and 40 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. V.

From the Death of Brutus and Cassius, to the Banishment of Lepidus; which vary'd the Course of the second Triumvirate's Power.

Containing the Space of six Years.

AS the last Efforts and Struggles of a dying Commonwealth are generally the most violent, so were these of *Rome* the greatest that ever she had for the maintaining her Liberty. For in the Sedition of the *Gracchi*, and in the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Rome* and *Italy* were only Sufferers; and tho' in the Dissentions of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, the Troubles were more general, yet several of the Senators and People thought they might well enough stand Neuters out of their Respect to the Commonwealth, which Name in Appearance was still reverenc'd: Whereas in these last Wars the Mask was wholly laid aside, and all things were carry'd on in such an open manner, that there was an absolute Necessity of declaring for Liberty or against it. But now all Pretence of Liberty was utterly ruin'd by the Defeats of *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and from that Moment the *Triumviri* began to act as Sovereigns, and to divide the *Roman* Dominions between 'em as their own by Right of Conquest, though *Lepidus* was not much consider'd by the other two, as either having no share in this last Battel, or little Interest among the Soldiers. The following Days after the Victory,

Victory, were employ'd by the *Triumviri* in punishing their Enemies: *Anthony* sacrific'd *Hortensius* to the Memory of his Brother *Caius*; *Livius Brutus*, the Father of that *Livia* who was afterwards marry'd to *Octavius*, kill'd himself in his Tent; and *Quintilius Varus*, adorn'd with all the Marks of those Honours he had borne, caus'd himself to be slain by his freed Man. *Octavius*, upon this Occasion, appear'd more cruel than was agreeable to his natural Temper; he sent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, to be thrown at the Feet of his Uncle's Statue: His Ashes were sent to his Wife *Porcia*, *Cato's* Daughter, who, according to her Father's and Husband's Example, it is said, kill'd her self, by swallowing down hot Coals and Ashes. *Octavius* forc'd a Senator and his Son to draw Lots for their Lives; but they both refus'd it; the Father voluntarily gave up himself to Execution, and the Son stabb'd himself before his Face. To another that begg'd of him to have the Rites of Burial, he said, *That that wou'd soon be at the Disposal of the Ravens*. These bitter Words and rigorous Punishments render'd him both odious as well as terrible to all the Prisoners who were brought before him.

After the *Triumviri* had satisfy'd their Revenge, they thought upon establishing their Authority. *Anthony* undertook to go into *Asia*, to raise Money for the Soldiers Rewards in those Provinces that were tributary to the *Romans*; and *Octavius* took upon him to lead the old Troops into *Italy*, to put them in Possession of the Lands that were promis'd 'em. *Anthony* first visited *Greece*, as being the Country where Flattery was manag'd with the greatest Delicacy in the World, was familiarly present at the Conferences of the Philosophers at *Athens*, and made great Presents to that City. Then leaving *Marcus Censorius* to command in *Greece*, he pass'd over into *Asia* with all his Troops. There all the Princes of
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the *East* who acknowledg'd the *Roman* Power, came to make their Court to him, and the fair Princesses strove to gain his Favour, either by the Charms of their Beauty, or the Magnificence of their Presents. This Crowd of Sovereigns that daily waited in his Anti-Chamber, with their Praises and Submissions, did most agreeably sooth his voluptuous and ambitious Temper. He pardon'd all those of *Brutus's* Party that surrender'd themselves to him, except *Petronius* and *Quintus*; the first was charg'd with being one of the Conspirators, and the other with betraying *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*; but then he took away the Estates of several wealthy Citizens to enrich his Flatterers and Buffoons; and assembling the Deputies of all the Subjects and Allies of the *Romans* in those Parts, in a set Speech he insist'd upon *his Necessities and their Duties*, and so squeez'd out of the Inhabitants almost all that Money which had been left 'em by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. After which he went a Progress all over the Country, where he frequently gave extraordinary Demonstrations of Generosity and Good-nature. He pardon'd *Lucius*, Brother to *Cassius*, and several other of his Enemies in those Parts; but he spar'd none that had a hand in *Cesar's* Death, or were of the Number of the Conspirators; so that never any Man's Death was more severely reveng'd than his. *Anthony* then made himself Sovereign Judge of the Differences between the Kings of those Countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syenes*, for whom the Beauty of his Mother *Gla-phyra* was so powerful as to carry the Crown from his Competitor.

But among all those Sovereigns in the *East* which depended upon the *Romans*, none were of such Note as *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, whose Conduct in these last Wars had given her good Reason to fear *Anthony*: For tho' she had assisted *Dolabella*, yet at the same time *Serapion*, her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, fought

fought for *Cassius*. This she knew had not at all been pleasing to the *Triumviri*, considering what she ow'd to the Memory of *Julius Cæsar*; especially since the Love of that great Man had been sufficiently known to all the World. Upon which she resolv'd to meet *Anthony*, and try how much her Wit and Beauty could plead for her, since Reason could do so little; as if she had been resolv'd to conquer and triumph over the *Romans* in the Persons of their Generals. For besides the Addresses of *Julius Cæsar*, she had receiv'd those of *Pompey's* eldest Son; so that never Beauty was ever signaliz'd with more illustrious Conquests. She had such a high Opinion of her Charms, that she question'd not but to revive the Flame in *Anthony's* Heart, of which formerly he had given her a Testimony in *Ægypt*, when he had some Command there. But above all, it was her Wit that most supported this Assurance; for tho' her Person was admirable, and the Brightness of her Eyes not to be withstood, yet there were some at *Rome* that did not yield to her in the least for Beauty; but none could compare with her for her agreeable Wit, and her charming Conversation, which never fail'd both to please and to persuade. These Perfections, besides her wonderful Accomplishments in Tongues and Learning, made her resolve to go in Person to *Anthony* in *Cilicia*, who had sent *Dellius* to cite her to give an Account of her late Conduct.

Never did any Princess appear in a more singular and magnificent manner than *Cleopatra*: Arriving at the Mouth of the River *Cydnus*, she embark'd in a Vessel whose Stern was of Gold, the Sails of purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which gently kept time to a Consort of excellent Musick. The Queen was laid under a Canopy of rich Cloth of Gold, adorn'd like *Venus* rising out of the Sea, with lovely Children about her like *Cupids*, fanning her, and
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her Women habited like *Nereids* and *Graces*, leaning negligently on the Sides and Shrouds of the Vessel: The Sweets that were burning perfum'd the Banks of the River, which were cover'd with an infinite Number of People, who ran thither with such Eagerness, that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a Throne to make a shew of Majesty, was left alone, while the Multitude flock'd to the River with extraordinary Delight and Wonder. *Anthony* in Civility desir'd her to land and sup with him; but she immediately desir'd his Company first, which he would not deny for fear of appearing ill-bred. He was extremely surpriz'd at the Neatness and Magnificence of the Entertainment, and with the ingenious placing of the Lights, and many other peculiar Contrivances. The next Day he in his turn would treat her, and endeavour'd to out-go her in Sumptuousness; but he soon perceiv'd he was far short of it; whereupon he turn'd all into Mirth and Raillery, which she join'd with, and carry'd on with all the Delicacy and Dexterity imaginable; till at last, taking a more serious Air in her Discourses, she told him, *That she came not thither to clear her self, but to be recompenc'd for the great Services she had done to him and Cæsar, in assisting Dolabella, in commanding a Fleet in Person in spite of Cassius and his Commanders, with many other Things, which she related with that Artifice and Cunning, and that Wit and Pleasantry, that Anthony could no longer defend his Heart; but from that moment entertain'd a Passion for her, which was the Cause of all the future Misfortunes of his Life.* He was so stricken with her, that he left all his former Business and honourable Employments, and presently follow'd her into *Ægypt*; where, first sacrificing to her Sister *Arctinoë*, he liv'd with her all the following Year in all the Ease and Softness to which his vicious Temper could prompt him, and all the Delights and Pleasures

fures with which that luxurious Nation cou'd furnish him.

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II. While *Anthony* remain'd thus idle in *Ægypt*; *Octavius* was extremely busie about settling the Affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the Lands for satisfying the old Soldiers. This he found very difficult, and not a little dangerous, by reason it exasperated so many against him; for it was absolutely necessary for him to give up the several Towns allotted for their Recompence, or else to satisfy his Soldiers with a proportionable Quantity of Money; but that cou'd not be rais'd since the Treasury was so much exhausted. Almost all the Inhabitants of the Towns, concern'd in this Matter, came in great Multitudes to *Rome*; and vast numbers of Women with Children in their Arms, whose tender Years and Innocence drew every ones Compassion, daily fill'd the Temples and publick Places with their Lamentations. The People of *Rome* talk'd very freely and boldly upon this Account, whose Complaints and Murmurings *Octavius* bore with all the Discretion and Cunning imaginable; first borrowing what Money he cou'd; but finding not that sufficient, he at last broke through all Difficulties, and gave his Soldiers Places and Lands for their Inheritance, as he first design'd. The City of *Cremona* was one that suffer'd most in this Distribution; for being so much of *Brutus's* Party, and *Mantua* by reason of her Neighbourhood had more than her Share in these Misfortunes, in which the *Muses* Darling, the greatest Wit and best Poet that ever *Italy* produc'd, had like to have perish'd. This was the great *Virgil*, who was a Party concern'd in this publick Calamity, for defending the Possession of his small Estate from *Arrius* the Centurion, and very narrowly escap'd Death by swimming cross a River. And 'tis probable that this Adventure most of all contribu-

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ted to his farther Reputation and Advancement, since these Troubles were the Subject of that excellent Eclogue which was the first of his *Bucolicks*, he being now about 28 Years of Age.

The many Disorders rais'd upon these Occasions; and the frequent Dangers in which *Octavius* was involv'd, gave *Anthony's* Wife *Fulvia* a fair Occasion of endeavouring to bring about her Designs. Her principal Concern was the bringing back of her Husband, which she believ'd nothing but a War cou'd effect; and therefore she resolv'd to persecute those Methods to which her Rage and Jealousie did then prompt her: *Lucius*, the Brother of *Anthony*, was then Consul, and to him she principally apply'd herself, who out of Respect to her who had been so great a Friend to him, and out of a Dislike to many of *Octavius's* Proceedings, readily comply'd with her. Many plausible Pretences were made use of to make a Breach with *Octavius*, and such cou'd never be wanting in such unsettled and troublesome Times as those. *Rome* was now in great Misery; and *Italy* no less; Provisions were extreme dear by reason of *Pompey's* stopping all the Passages by Sea from abroad, and at home the Troops consum'd all the Increase of the Land, and besides committed a thousand Disorders in the Cities, so that all Trading was ruin'd; and the Shops of most People shut up. *Lucius* made great use of these Mischiefs, and *Octavius* us'd all means to quiet the Soldiers, and pacify the Country-People, who were driven from their Possessions: He heard their Complaints, and promis'd to do 'em Justice, which much incens'd *Anthony's* Soldiers, who were also still more and more stirr'd up by the Artifices of *Fulvia*. *Cesar* openly complain'd of her, declaring, *She wholly acted against the true Interest and Sentiments of her Husband*; but she hearken'd to none but her Friend *Manius*, who perswaded her, *That nothing but a War cou'd force*

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Anthony

Anthony from Cleopatra's Arms, and bring him into Italy; and for *Lucius*, he had no other Sentiments but what were influenc'd by these two.

These Disturbances began in Words, Declarations, Manifesto's, and such like; but soon came to an open Breach, notwithstanding all the Care and Caution of the most prudent of both Parties. Many eminent Persons were engag'd in this War; and in regard that *Lucius* had declar'd against the *Triumvirate*, most of the ancient Owners of the Lands repair'd to him, and the new Possessors to *Octavius* and to *Salvidienus*, then coming out of *Gaul* with a great Power. *Lucius* march'd to oppose him, but was diverted by *Agrippa*, one of *Octavius*'s great Friends, and a valiant Soldier. Notwithstanding the great Caution of *Ventidius* and *Asinius*, two of *Anthony*'s Commanders, *Lucius* was so hemm'd in, and reduc'd to such Straits between *Cesar* and *Agrippa*, that he was constrain'd to retreat to *Perusia*, a strong City of *Hetruria*, where he was closely besieg'd by *Octavius* and his Party. *Ventidius* and *Asinius* attempted to relieve the Town; but *Octavius* was so well posted, that they could not effect it, so that *Lucius* was in a short time reduc'd to great Extremities for want of Provisions for so numerous a Garrison. He made several bold and desperate Sallies, but with no proportionable Success; till finding his Soldiers reduc'd to the utmost Miseries of Famine, he at last came out in Person, and giving himself up into *Octavius*'s Hands, with great Earnestness interceded for his poor Soldiers, and begg'd, That his Punishment might atone for their Crimes. *Octavius* receiv'd him very honourably, and with much Generosity, and all *Lucius*'s Soldiers were pardon'd at the Desire of *Octavius*'s own Men, who cou'd but pity the Miseries of their old Companions and Countrymen. The Town was design'd to be plunder'd; but one of the chief Inhabitants, call'd *Macedonicus*,

cedonicus, in a great Rage set Fire to his House, which consum'd both himself and the whole City. *Ventidius* and the rest made no Resistance; so that this dangerous War was ended in a few Monthstime, *Pompey* making but small Advantage of it; and *Octavius* return'd to *Rome*, where he enter'd in Triumphant Robes, and crown'd with Laurel. Publick Feasts were also celebrated, and it was ordain'd, That whenever any General hereafter should merit the Honour of Triumph, and be Crown'd, *Cæsar* should have a Share in his Honour.

III. During this last War, and while *Octavius* was settling his own Affairs with all the Skill and Wisdom of a most able Politician, *Anthony* was ingloriously passing away his time at *Alexandria*, in the bewitching Company of *Cleopatra*, and there fix'd by the Charms of that Queen; regarding nothing but the Enjoyment of those Pleasures she every Day presented him with, in some new and delightful Shape. Never had Woman that exquisite Art of refining and heightning of Pleasures by the Charms of Novelty that she had; she introduc'd 'em in the most serious Business, and even the most inconsiderable Trifles, when manag'd by her Skill, receiv'd such an Air as made 'em the most agreeable Diversions: So that whether they play'd, or treated, or hunted, the Queen still made one, and was the Soul of all, by her ingenious intermingling some lively Pieces of Wit, or by her unparallel'd Grace in relating some pleasant Adventure. Among the several sorts of Diversions, *Cleopatra* had invented a Society, which she call'd, *The inimitable Life*, and those who made the most sumptuous Entertainments, carry'd away the Prize; which Treats were prodigiously expensive, as appears by several Examples out of *Plutarch* and others. By all this Variety of Pleasures and Delights did *Cleopatra* charm this

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great Man, insensibly carrying him from one Diversion to another, and entirely gaining the Affections of his Soul; so that *Anthony* had almost forgot the great Reputation and Glory he had formerly gain'd by his Arms, neglected the Toils and Fatigues of War, and was just ready to let his former Glory be swallow'd and lost in the more softer Delights of Love.

In these Circumstances was *Anthony* when he receiv'd News, that his Brother had been overthrown by *Octavius*; that his Wife and all his Friends had quitted *Italy*; that *Octavius* had made himself Master of *Gaul*, which belong'd to him, and had got all the Legions into his Hands which quarter'd there. From another Part he receiv'd Advice, That the *Parthians*, under Command of *Pacorus*, their King's Son, assisted by *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes*, had made themselves Masters of *Syria*: That they had likewise march'd as far as *Jerusalem*, which they sack'd, and carry'd away *Hircanus*, the High-Priest, and *Herod's* Brother, Prisoners, *Herod* himself having fled to the Mountains of *Judea*. These Successes, so highly disadvantageous to *Anthony's* Affairs, now began to rouse him from the Lethargy of his Softness, and to make him consider how much his Actions were like to disgrace the glorious Name of Conqueror; whereupon he gather'd together 200 Ships, and a considerable Army, which he had ready in those Parts. His Design was immediately to march against the *Parthians*; but the earnest Instances of his Wife *Fulvia*, and his Friends, oblig'd him to turn towards *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence passing by the Isles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, he arriv'd at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*. He much blam'd her and his Brother *Lucius* for occasioning the late Disorders, and here he understood that *Octavius* had lately marry'd *Scribonia*, the Sister of *Libo*, *Pompey's* Father-in-law. This *Octavius* did
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to gain an Alliance with *Pompey*, for the sake of his Shipping, not forgetting the least thing that might make for his Advantage; and he manag'd all things with that Secresy, Skill, and Industry, that the most piercing Judgments could by no means penetrate into the Bottom of this exquisite Politician's Designs.

Anthony suspecting *Octavius's* Conduct, advanc'd towards *Italy*, without shewing the least Concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left sick at *Sycion*; which last Neglect and Scorn finish'd what his Infidelity had begun, she dying soon after. *Anthony* crossing the *Ionian* Sea, was there met by *Domitius*, who deliver'd up all his Fleet and Forces to him; from whence they sail'd to *Brundisium*, where they were forbidden Entrance by a Garrison plac'd there by *Octavius*. This made such a Breach between 'em, that *Anthony* immediately block'd up the Place, and likewise procur'd *Pompey* from *Sicily* to invade *Italy*. *Octavius* march'd directly to *Brundisium*, where the old Soldiers being unwilling to fight against *Anthony*, the Army endeavour'd all ways to reconcile these two great Men, which *Cocceius*, Friend to both, at length with much Labour effected; and *Pollio* on *Anthony's* side, and *Mecenas* on *Octavius's*, both eminent Persons, as Delegates, made up this dangerous Breach. All Offences and Affronts were mutually to be forgiven, and a Marriage was propos'd between *Anthony* and *Octavius's* Half-Sister *Octavia*, and Widow of *Marcellus*, a Lady of most extraordinary Beauty, and as extraordinary Vertues and Accomplishments. Tho' *Cleopatra* had so large a Share in *Anthony's* Heart, yet he cou'd not without Baseness refuse a Lady of *Octavia's* admirable Qualities; and to avoid all present Inconveniences, he marry'd her. Then a new Division of the *Roman* Empire was made between these Commanders, the Bounds of their Dominions being *Codropolis*, a Town of *Illyricum*, all from that Place

Westward being to obey *Octavius*, and all Eastward *Anthony*. *Africk* was left to *Lepidus*, whose Authority declin'd daily, and who having offended *Octavius*, had been confin'd by him to that Province.

According to this Division, *Anthony* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia* against the *Parthians*; but the Troubles at Home seem'd much greater to both *Anthony* and *Octavius*, who were now entertain'd with the sad and lamentable Complaints of poor People, ready to starve for want of Provisions, which *Pompey* hinder'd from coming either from the East or West, by means of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, which he had in his Power, and from *Africk* by his Navy also, which was then most powerful at Sea. *Octavius*, by reason of some former Affronts, would not be brought to any Accommodation with *Pompey*, notwithstanding the continual Cries and Prayers of the Multitude, whose Rage and Fury at last came to that height, that he was nigh being ston'd by 'em, and *Anthony* too, by coming in to his Assistance. At last both he and *Pompey* were so far perswaded as to come to an Interview; but the latter demanding large Privileges for the Proscrib'd Persons, and to be admitted into the Power and Place of *Lepidus*, the Treaty was ineffectual. Yet the pressing Necessities and frequent Mutinies of the People brought 'em together a second time, where, among some other Articles, it was concluded, That *Pompey* shou'd retain all the Islands he had already, and *Peloponnesus* over and above; that he shou'd have the Privilege of demanding the Consulship in his Absence, and of discharging that Office by any of his Friends: That he shou'd leave the Sea open, and pay the People what Corn was due out of *Sicily*; and that the Proscrib'd Persons, except such as were guilty of *Cæsar's* Death, shou'd have all their Liberty to return. And so a Peace was concluded, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all People, which they testify'd by many Publick Games and Pastimes.

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IV. All Civil Wars were now for a while at an end, and *Octavius* and *Anthony* were about taking the Field against Foreigners; but before that time, they nam'd the Consuls for the four following Years, *Anthony* and *Libo* for the first, *Octavius* and *Pompey* for the second, *Domitius* and *Sesius* for the third, and *Anthony* and *Octavius* for the fourth, by which time it was hop'd and discours'd that they wou'd restore the Liberty of the Commonwealth. *Octavius*, to keep his Soldiers in Military Discipline, sent one part of his Forces into *Illyricum*, and led the rest into *Gaul*, where there were some Disturbances. *Anthony* departed for the *East* against the *Parthians*, which War *Ventidius* had manag'd with good Success, having got several Victories, kill'd several of their principal Commanders, and repell'd 'em in *Media* and *Mesopotamia*, being the only General that cou'd revenge *Crassus's* Death, or that triumph'd over that Nation. *Anthony* there settled the Affairs of *Syria*, and made Peace with *Antiochus* King of *Comogena*, who had assisted the *Parthians*; and he got the several Kings which he had establish'd in those Parts, to be confirm'd by Ordinance of the Senate, which were *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumæa*, *Herod* in *Judea*, *Amintas* in *Pisidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*. The City of *Athens* he chose to pass the Winter in with *Octavia*, in which Place he intirely gave himself over to his Pleasures and Diversions, quitting all the Tokens and Marks of his Authority to live like a private Person; and in his Court there was no Business discours'd of, but only Learning and Philosophy.

As for *Pompey*, he seem'd for a while to be satisfy'd; but as the Treaty between him and *Octavius* only regulated their Pretensions, not their Ambitions, a Breach was soon made again; the Pretences of which was, That *Anthony*, who was oblig'd by

Articles to quit *Peloponnesus*, wou'd not do it till *Pompey* had satisfy'd him for such Monies as were due to him from the Inhabitants. *Pompey* wou'd by no means hearken to this, but immediately fitted out a new Fleet, and provided himself of Forces, perhaps giving Credit to *Menodorus*, who told him, *That the present Settlement of Affairs was no true Peace, but rather a Cessation of Arms.* He then renew'd his Cruisings and Pyracies, which likewise renew'd the former Miseries and Grievances, and made the People cry out, *That the Matter was only chang'd from three Tyrants to four.* But *Menodorus* in a short time revolted to *Cesar*, bringing in with him *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and three Legions; and soon after *Octavius* put to Sea to invade *Sicily*, but was beaten back by *Pompey*, and was in great danger of his Life; and afterwards his Ships lying at Anchor, were extremely shatter'd, and most of his Men cast away. These Misfortunes oblig'd *Octavius* to fortify the Coasts of *Italy*, lest *Pompey* shou'd attempt an Invasion, and sent to *Anthony* for his Assistance. Tho' he seem'd intirely taken up with such important Affairs, he found some more agreeable in another Place; and *Livia*, the Wife of *Tiberius*, was the Subject of 'em. The Beauty of this Woman, join'd with her refin'd and dextrous Wit, made a great Impression upon his Heart, which was much alienated from *Scribonia*, whom he divorc'd for her insupportable Temper; and either by his Intreaties or Authority, he oblig'd *Tiberius* to yield him *Livia*, whom he marry'd, tho' then big with Child, the Priests all allowing of it.

U. C.
716

Anthony was now arriv'd at *Brundisium* with 300 Sail, giving out, He came to assist *Octavius* in this War. *Octavius* having not long before receiv'd the News of *Agrippa's* quelling the *Gauls*, and having gather'd together a noble Fleet, cou'd willingly have dispens'd with *Anthony's* Civility. He thought he was already too powerful, and therefore sought all
Arts

Arts and Pretences to excuse his going to meet *Anthony*, which Proceedings did not a little displease him, as having been jealous of *Octavius* for a long time. *Anthony* had then particular need of Soldiers to employ against the *Parthians*; and willing to spare the Charge of a Fleet, he design'd *Octavius* shou'd take that, and furnish him with Land-Forces. Whereupon *Octavia* generously offer'd to go to her Brother, and clear all Misunderstandings, and reconcile all Differences that were like to arise, which *Anthony* willingly agreed to. *Cæsar* receiv'd her with a Courtesie suitable to the great Affection he had for her, but yet was so backward in answering her Requests, that she publickly address'd her self to his two great Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, who had a profound Respect for her, both for her great Merits and high Birth. *My Lords*, said she, *you see here Octavia, a Woman of the greatest Quality of the World, now ready to be made the most miserable of all her Sex, if your great Care and Wisdom prevent not these Misfortunes. The whole Roman People have fix'd their Eyes on me, me the Sister of Cæsar, and Wife of Anthony; if my ill Destiny shou'd bring these two to Arms, you have the Chance of Fortune on your side; but I must fall whoever gains, and be reduc'd to the fatal Necessity of losing a Husband or a Brother* This moving Argument, join'd with the Affection *Octavius* had for his Sister, brought him to an Interview with *Anthony*, where extraordinary Civility was shewn to each other, all little Differences were accommodated, and Exchange made as *Anthony* desir'd; and because the time of the *Triumvirate* set by the Senate was almost expir'd, they prolong'd their Power for five Years more, without ever regarding the Suffrages of the Senate or People. After this, *Anthony* departed once more for *Syria*, leaving *Octavia* in *Italy*, *Octavius* deferring his Expedition into *Sicily* till the following Year.

Octavius.

Octavius determin'd to invade *Sicily* from three several Quarters ; *Lepidus*, who had now join'd him, was to make a Descent from *Africk*, *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and he himself from *Puteoli*. *Pompey* was resolv'd to oppose each of these Commands, but at this time there needed not that Care ; for *Octavius's* Fleet was a second time shatter'd and disabled by a Storm, which so swell'd *Pompey* with Vanity, that he styl'd himself *Neptune's Son*. However, *Octavius* would not give over his Enterprize ; for the same Summer having recruited his Forces, and refitted his Navy, he sent it out under the Command of *Agrippa*, who first overthrew *Pompey's* Fleet, then was again worsted himself ; yet after that landed 21 Legions, and 2000 Horse, besides 5000 Light-arm'd Men. No great or memorable Action happen'd on Land ; but *Pompey* sent to his Enemy to know if he would fight by Sea, much fearing the Land-Forces. *Octavius* accepted of his Offer, and in a general Battel, in which *Agrippa* perform'd great Acts, finally defeated him, having sunk 28 of his Vessels. The rest were either taken or broken, seventeen only escap'd ; and at the sight of this great Overthrow, all *Pompey's* Land-Forces surrender'd themselves to *Octavius*, so that with his seventeen Vessels he fled to *Anthony* in *Syria*, from whom he expected Protection, in requital of what he had formerly given to his Mother *Julia*. *Messana* still held out for *Pompey* ; but the Garrison at last yielded to *Lepidus*, and that brought all *Sicily* into Subjection.

This Victory, tho' so advantageous to *Octavius*, prov'd the Ruin of *Lepidus*, who now having got 22 Legions under his Command, and a strong Body of Cavalry, pleas'd himself with the ambitious Thoughts of getting all *Sicily* into his Hands, to which he pretended a Right, as first invaded by him. Whereupon *Octavius* sent to him to complain of his Proceedings ; to whom *Lepidus* fiercely reply'd, *That*
Cæsar

Cæsar had taken upon him all the Authority of the *Triumvirate*, when he had as much Right to it as himself. At this *Octavius* with great Boldness went alone to *Lepidus's* Camp, with no other Assistance than that of his own Merit, and the Authority he had gain'd by his Victories. The Soldiers of *Pompey* look'd upon him with great Respect, and drew round about him; which *Lepidus* perceiving, he hasten'd thither, and made some of his Men charge *Octavius*, who presently receiv'd a Hurt by a Dart. Yet *Octavius*, with a great Presence of Mind, went directly to the Place where the Eagles of the Legions were planted, and taking one of 'em, he advanc'd it in the Air; whereupon all the Legionary Soldiers ran in Crouds, and saluted him as their General. *Lepidus* being thus abandon'd by his Soldiers, quitted all the Marks of his Authority which he cou'd no longer keep, took deep Mourning, and came and threw himself at *Octavius's* Feet. *Octavius* was much mov'd at this mortifying Spectacle, to see a *Triumvir*, who had dispos'd of the Lives of many noble Persons, reduc'd to beg his own; but he despis'd him too much to take his Life; and tho' his Soldiers would have kill'd him, he sav'd him, but turn'd him out of all his Authority and Power, except that of *Pontifex Maximus*, and banish'd him to *Circæum*.

Thus fell one Head of the *Triumvirate*; and their Authority, without any Competitor, came wholly into the Hands of *Octavius* and *Anthony*; which Authority became almost indisputable by the Death of *Pompey*, who was shortly after slain by *Anthony's* Order in *Phrygia*, having first made several Commotions in those Parts. So that all Civil Wars were for a while ended in the Roman State, which fell out in the 718th Year of the City, and the 7th of the Second *Triumvirate*, about 8 Years after *Julius Cæsar's* Death, and 34 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. VI.

From the Banishment of Lepidus, to the Death of Anthony ; which made Way for Octavius's Absolute Authority, and was the last Step to the Imperial State.

Containing the Space of six Years.

U. C.
718.

I. **R**OME now began to take Breath after so many Domestick Broils, and *Octavius* was receiv'd at the City with a general Joy, the Senators met him at the Gates, and conducted him to the *Capitol*, follow'd by all the People, crown'd with Garlands of Flowers; where, after he had given Thanks to the Gods, they waited on him to his Palace. *Octavius* now thought of nothing so much as the gaining the Hearts and Inclinations of the People, and he much endeavour'd to restore the publick Peace of the City, which had of late been much disturb'd by Thieves and Robbers. For that End he order'd *Sabinus*, with his Troops, to pursue and bring to Punishment all such as might be found in *Italy* and *Sicily*, and likewise establish'd at *Rome* some Companies for the Guard of the City. This, and many other Things, he executed with such great Diligence and Dexterity, that the *Romans* began to have an extraordinary Veneration for a Man who had such a surprizing Understanding at so small an Age. Some Cities of *Italy* proceeded even to the erecting Altars to him, especially after one generous Act he did. He had among *Pompey's* Papers a great Number

Number of Letters and Memoirs of the chief Senators, enough to occasion many new Disturbances. These he brought into the *Forum*, and before all the People threw 'em into the Fire, protesting, *That he there sacrific'd all his private Resentments to the Good of the Commonwealth, and design'd to give up his Authority as soon as Anthony should return from the Parthian Expedition.* The People applauded him beyond Example; and to shew that they ever desir'd to obey him, they chose him *Tribune* for his Life; and by this they likewise thought to oblige him to quit the odious Dignity of *Triumvir*. *Octavius* willingly accepted of the perpetual *Tribuneship*, but deferr'd the Suppression of the *Triumvirate* till *Anthony's* Return, and sent *Bibulus* to communicate his Design to him; and after he had dispos'd of the Government of the Provinces, he march'd against the *Illyrians*.

It was believ'd, that the Death of *Pompey* wou'd U. C.
have establish'd a Peace through all the World; espe- 719.
cially since *Anthony* and *Octavius* might in the Ex-
tent and Riches of the *Roman* Empire, have found
all that could be desir'd for the satisfying their Am-
bition: But the secret Hatred between these two,
which broke out upon all publick Occasions, now
began to raise new Commotions in the *Roman* State.
The Passion of *Anthony* for *Cleopatra*, and the extra-
vagant Presents of whole Provinces which he made
her, serv'd *Octavius* for a plausible Pretence to re-
new the War, and free himself from a Competitor
so formidable both for his Valour, and his Reputa-
tion among the Soldiers. *Anthony* had now call'd
Cleopatra into *Syria*, and there gave her all *Phœnicia*,
Cælo-Syria, and *Cyprus*, with a great part of *Cilicia*,
Arabia and *Judæa*; which much displeas'd the *Ro-*
man People, who daily publish'd scurrilous Discour-
ses of *Anthony's* Prodigality. *Anthony* being inform'd
of these Libels by his Friends from *Rome*, immedi-
ately publish'd an Apology, wherein he affirm'd,
That

That the Grandeur of the Roman Empire was never so conspicuous for the Conquests made, as for the Liberality practis'd in bestowing the conquer'd Provinces: That true Nobility was enlarg'd and multiply'd by the numerous Posterity that Sovereign Princes left in several Parts of the World; and that was the Motive that induc'd Hercules, from whom he deriv'd his Birth, not to subject himself to the single eye of one Wife, but to leave the Foundation of several illustrious Races in all Parts, where he extended his glorious Conquests. These false Reasonings, which were design'd to justify his Passion, prov'd more injurious to him, and made him appear odious to the Romans, who made Profession of a much stricter Morality.

Anthony besides had march'd against the Parthians with a mighty Power, which made the East tremble, but with very ill Success; for at the beginning the Enemy slew one of his Lieutenants, and entirely defeated two Legions, and even he himself was reduc'd to such Extremities, that he often despair'd of his own Safety. At last, after the loss of the fourth part of his Troops, and all his Baggage, he sav'd himself in Armenia, by the Advice of a Roman who had been Prisoner among the Parthians ever since the Death of Crassus. Tho' Anthony in this War behav'd himself with his usual Bravery, yet the great Loss and shameful Retreat of such a General as he, who in all probability was once able to have conquer'd his Enemies, extremely diminish'd his former Reputation: And what was still more disadvantageous to him, was the general Belief that these Misfortunes were owing to his Passion for Cleopatra, which had caus'd him to take no Measures aright, but such as shou'd hasten his Return to her. But what principally enrag'd the Romans, was, the taking Artabazus, King of Armenia, whom Anthony led in Triumph into Alexandria. This Rome could by no means bear, that a Roman General should impart

impart such a peculiar Honour to a Foreign Nation, and that she shou'd be depriv'd of the Glory of insulting over vanquish'd Kings, which for so many Years she had enjoy'd. All these Faults of *Anthony*, *Cæsar* made advantage of, and above all exaggerated the little Value he had for his Country: And when he found the People sufficiently exasperated against him, he resolv'd to send *Octavia* to her Husband, that he might have a plausible Pretence to declare War against him, if he shou'd offer her the Affront of sending her back without seeing her.

Anthony was now at *Leucopolis*, between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he staid with an Impatience he was not able to conceal, frequently leaving the Table to run to the Sea-side himself, to see if the Queen were coming. At last she came with great Quantity of Cloathing for her Soldiers, and a vast Sum of Money; at least *Anthony* gave her the Honour of it when he distributed it. Almost at the same time *Niger* arriv'd from *Octavia*, who staid at *Athens*, from whence she sent her Husband word that she had brought him Cloaths and Arms, Horses and Presents for his Officers, and 2000 chosen Soldiers well arm'd. This was very unwelcome News to *Cleopatra*, who fearing she cou'd not prevail against so powerful a Rival when she appear'd, immediately feign'd a deep Malancholy, abstaining from Food to make her self lean; and when she was near *Anthony*, she beheld him with languishing Eyes, and a despairing Contenance, like one besides her self with Love: She let fall Tears in his Presence, and turn'd away her Face, as if she desir'd to hide from him those Marks of her Grief. These Artifices, together with the smooth and cunning Flatteries of *Cleopatra's* Friends, prevail'd so much upon *Anthony's* Weakness, that they quite turn'd his Thoughts in favour of his Mistress. He broke off his honourable Enterprize against the *Parthians*, notwithstanding

ing all the Instances of the King of *Media*, who offer'd to join with him, and oppose that People with his Cavalry, accustom'd to their way of fighting. He only contented himself to make a Match between one of his Sons he had by *Cleopatra*, and a Daughter of that King; and after he had sent to *Octavia*, to return to *Rome*, he waited on *Cleopatra* to *Ægypt*.

Here *Anthony* began to shew himself more luxurious and extravagant than ever, erecting a stately Throne of Silver in the most publick Place in *Alexandria*, upon which were two Seats of Gold, one for himself, and the other for *Cleopatra*. There *Anthony* dress'd like *Bacchus*, and *Cleopatra* like *Isis*, were seated; and in the Presence of all the People he declar'd her Queen of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Lydia*, and Lower *Syria*, associating with her *Cæsario*, the Son she had by *Julius Cæsar*. To the Children he had by her he gave the Title of *King of Kings*; and for their Dominions, to *Alexander* the eldest he allotted *Armenia*, *Media*, and *Parthia*, which he pretended he wou'd conquer in a little time; and to *Ptolemy* the younger, *Phœnicia*, Upper *Syria*, and *Cilicia*; and all things were perform'd with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity imaginable. *Anthony* was still carry'd away with new Pleasures and Delights by *Cleopatra*, and the Delicacy and Profuseness of their Treats still daily increas'd, till at last the Queen promis'd him upon a Wager to give him a Treat of 60000 Pound Value of our Money. In this Treat was serv'd up a Golden Cup with a very strong dissolving Vinegar, in which *Cleopatra* put one of her Pendants, which was a Pearl of an inestimable Value, and immediately drank it off. *Plancus*, who was to judge of the Wager, immediately secur'd the other Pendant which she was then taking off, and gave Judgment that she had already won the Wager; and *Anthony* himself was extremely troubled for the Loss
of

of such a Jewel. The remaining Pearl, after the Death of *Cleopatra*, came into the Hands of *Cæsar*, who caus'd it to be cut asunder, and made it into two Pendants for the Image of *Venus*, which he thought gloriously adorn'd with half of this prodigal Queen's Supper.

II. *Octavius* was now much provok'd by *Anthony's* Actions, especially at his affronting his Sister, and made Report of all his Practices to the Senate, who began to have a far less Esteem for *Anthony* than ever. *Octavia* us'd her utmost Endeavours to reconcile these two, alledging, *That her Interest ought not to oblige Cæsar to declare himself Anthony's Enemy, since it wou'd be a shameful thing to have it reported in future Ages, that the Love of one Woman, and the Jealousy of another, had caus'd the two Governors of the greatest Empire of the World to plunge it into the Miseries of a Civil War.* Her great Generosity, her mild Behaviour, together with the Love and Respect to her Husband, still further incens'd the People against *Anthony*, for his ill Usage of a Lady of that extraordinary Merit. *Octavius* at last resolv'd to declare War against *Anthony*, but deferr'd for a while, being employ'd all this Year against several People of *Illyricum*; at which same time *Anthony* also left *Ægypt*, and went into *Media*, where he enter'd into a League with that King.

U. C.
720.

The following Year *Octavius* chiefly employ'd in Preparations against *Anthony*, who was now so sensible of *Octavius's* Designs, that he sent to *Rome* to complain of *Octavius's* Conduct, alledging, *That he had seiz'd upon Sicily, without affording him a Share; that he had dispossest Lepidus, and kept all his Governments to himself; and that he had divided all Italy among his own Soldiers, and reserv'd nothing for his in Asia.* *Octavius* made Answer to these Accusations, *That Lepidus's Conduct had oblig'd him to remove him; that as for*

the Conquest he had made, Anthony shou'd have a Share, when he had divided Armenia which he had conquer'd; and as for Anthony's Soldiers, that it was not likely that they wou'd value a few pitiful Lands in Italy, after they had conquer'd all Media and the Empire of the Parthians, by the mighty Exploits they had done in following their General. Anthony was so enrag'd at this Jeer, that he order'd Canidius, who commanded his Army, to march without Intermission with 16 Legions to pass over into Europe, and he himself with Cleopatra came to Ephesus, where his Lieutenants had gather'd together 800 Vessels, of which Cleopatra furnish'd 200, with 20000 Talents, and Provisions for all his Forces. Anthony, by the Advice of Domitius, resolv'd to send back Cleopatra into Ægypt till the War was ended; but she fearing lest Octavia should take an Advantage of her Absence, and make her Peace, by large Presents gain'd Canidius to represent to Anthony a great Number of Inconveniences that her Departure wou'd occasion; particularly, the depriving him of the Assistance of the Ægyptians, who were the best Part of his Navy. These Counsels, and her own cunning Insinuations, so far prevail'd upon Anthony's deprav'd Temper, that he consented to her Stay.

Anthony and Cleopatra went both to Samos, where, for Preparation for so great an Enterprize, they began with all the Diversions and Pleasures that cou'd be invented. Never were any Man's Cares so pleasantly divided as Anthony's; on one side, all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates, from Ægypt to the Euxine Sea, and from Armenia to Illyricum, had Orders to send Arms, Provisions, and Soldiers to Samos; on the other, all the Comedians, Dancers, Musicians, and Buffoons, were oblig'd to repair to this Isle: So that frequently when a Ship was thought to come laden with Soldiers, Arms, and Ammunition, it prov'd to be full of Players, Scenes, and Machines; and

and while all the rest of the World was in extreme Misery and Desolation, Joy and all kind of Pleasure reign'd here, as if they had all made choice of this Place to retire to. But how magnificent soever their Entertainments were, *Anthony's* Fear and Jealousie had so sower'd his Temper, that he began to suspect *Cleopatra* her self, and wou'd eat nothing without a Taster. But *Cleopatra*, by her dextrous Management, by several Instances soon let him see, *That he cou'd have no Guard against her Address, were not her Heart interest'd in his Preservation*; which made *Anthony* leave off his troublesome Precautions, which he found useless against the Arts of a Woman, who cou'd so skilfully mingle inevitable Snares of Death among her Pleasures. Every City of *Anthony's* Empire had a Share in his Sacrifices, and sent an Ox thither to be offer'd, and the Kings who accompany'd him contended who shou'd make the noblest Entertainments, so that it gave Occasion to one to ask, *What Rejoycings they would make for a Victory, who made such magnificent Treats before a dangerous War?*

The Stay *Anthony* made at *Samos* was very favourable to *Octavius*, who cou'd make but small Provision for War, by reason of the Discontents of all the *Italian* Cities, occasion'd by the severe Impositions laid upon 'em, and augmented by the News of *Anthony's* Approach with such formidable Forces. But when they saw that *Anthony's* Preparations serv'd chiefly to fill the Publick Places and Theatres of *Samos*, *Octavius* found Means to appease 'em, and to put himself in a Posture of disputing the Empire with Forces equal to his Enemies. Still *Anthony* began to grow more odious to the *Roman* People; for having brought *Cleopatra* to *Athens*, and there honouring her beyond any Mortal before her, he sent to *Rome* with Orders to *Octavia* to leave his House, with all her Children. *Octavia* readily obey'd these unjust Orders,

Orders, without murmuring, only lamenting her hard Fate, *because she was made to serve for a Pretence to a War, whose Consequences must needs be fatal to her.* Several of *Anthony's* Friends not being able any longer to bear with his Disorders, abandon'd him, and *Octavius* having got *Anthony's* Will into his Hands, found new Matter to complain of to the Senate and People, which was *Anthony's* ordering, *That if he dy'd in Rome, his Body shou'd be carry'd in Funeral Pomp through the principal Places of the City, and then sent into Ægypt to Cleopatra.* To this a Report was added, *That Anthony design'd to give Rome to Cleopatra, if his Arms were prosperous, and to transfer the Seat of the Empire into Ægypt;* so that notwithstanding all the Care of the more prudent sort, and all their Endeavours to reconcile these two great Men, it plainly appear'd that nothing but the Sword cou'd decide the present Controversy.

U. C.
722.

III. As soon as *Octavius* found himself in a good Condition to carry on the War, he publickly proclaim'd it against *Cleopatra*, and divested *Anthony* of his Authority, which he had in a manner already parted with in favour of that Princess. The Decree imply'd besides, *That Anthony was now no longer Master of his own Will, since Cleopatra, with her Philtres, had taken away the use of his Reason; so that he was not to be esteem'd as a Person engag'd in this War, which was only manag'd by Mardion her Eunuch, and Iras and Charmia her Women, who were all his Governors.* All *Anthony's* Followers were invited over with great Promises of Rewards, but not declar'd Enemies, partly to prevent their growing desperate, and partly to render *Anthony* more inexcusable in making War against his Country, only for the sake of an *Ægyptian* Woman. The Forces of these two Generals were answerable to the Empire they contended for, one drawing all the *East*, and the other the *West* to his Party.

Party. All the several Kings of *Asia* that were Allies of the *Romans*, follow'd the Fortune of *Anthony*; some by their Persons, and others by their Troops alone; all which, with *Anthony's* Forces, compos'd an Army of 100000 Foot and 12000 Horse, and his Fleet consisted of 500 Ships of War, whereof many were of the largest Bulk. *Octavius*, in his Party had no Foreign Princes, and his Army amounted to no more than 80000 Foot, but was as strong in Cavalry as his Enemies: In his Fleet were 250 Vessels, but all light, better Mann'd, and more convenient than *Anthony's*. This Year, by reason of *Anthony's* recalling his Troops out of *Media* from the Protection of that Country, the *Parthians* became Masters of it, and *Armenia* was likewise lost.

The two great Men being now in readiness for Action, they first began to shew their Hatred by reflecting Letters; and when *Octavius* reproach'd *Anthony* with his Love to *Cleopatra*, and the Prodigality of his Feasts, he, on the other side, put him in mind of the famous Feasts of the Twelve Gods, where he and his other Guests represented the Deities they ador'd. To which he added, his preposterous Match with *Livia*, and his infamous Divorce of *Scribonia*, for not bearing the Insolence of that new Mistress; and all the Roman Ladies that *Octavius* had any great Familiarity with, were brought upon the Stage. He proceeded likewise to tax *Octavius* with Cowardice at the Battels of *Mutina* and *Sicily*; whereupon *Octavius* wrote to him, That it was childish to fight any longer with the Pen; but if he wou'd approach at the Head of his Army, he shou'd have Ports in *Italy* to land without Molestation; that he wou'd draw his Troops so far from the Sea, that *Anthony* shou'd want no room for Encamping, and putting his Men in Battalia. To make Return to this Bravade, *Anthony*, tho' he were much the older, challeng'd *Octavius* to fight a single Combat, or if he

U. C.
723.

pleas'd, he wou'd give him Battle in the Plains of Pharsalia, where the great Cæsar and Pompey had formerly decided their famous Differences. Anthony was now at Actium, a Town on the Coasts of Epirus, at the Entrance of the Gulph of Ambracia; and while he lay there without Action, Octavius pass'd over from Brundisium, and surpriz'd Toryne, a City nigh Actium. This Exploit amaz'd Anthony's Soldiers, because his Legions were not yet arriv'd; but Cleopatra, to re-assume them, made slight of it, and in a jesting Way said, What Damage is it for Octavius to take the Scummer? alluding to the Word Toryne, which signifies a Scummer; as if the Danger had been no greater than the taking of a Dinner.

Anthony had brought all his Ships into the Gulph, whither Octavius the next Day after the taking of Toryne came forward, and offer'd him Battel. Anthony's Vessels were very ill-mann'd; however he drew 'em into a fighting Posture, with their Oars a-peek, as if he intended to bear down upon the Enemy; but Octavius durst not engage him in that narrow Passage, and therefore stood off to Sea; the other refus'd to follow; but as he perfectly knew the Country thereabouts, he cut off the Water from Octavius's Camp on every side, which much distress'd his Army. But the Success of Agrippa, in taking Leucadia, Petras, and Corinth, about this time, much reviv'd the Soldiers, and likewise occasion'd Amintas, Deiotarus, and Domitius, to go over to Octavius. To the latter of these, Anthony, according to his natural Generosity, sent his People and all his Equipage, which so sensibly touch'd Domitius, who was sick already, that he was not able to out-live the Grief of abandoning a Man who thus by Kindness only had reveng'd his Perfidiousness. In the mean time Canidius arriv'd with the Legions, who now began to change his Mind concerning Cleopatra, desiring Anthony, to send her back, and go himself into Macedo-

nia,

nia, where he might fight by Land with so much more Advantage, because Dicomes, King of the Geres, had promised him a powerful Assistance. He farther told Anthony, That it wou'd be a renouncing both Sense and Reason to put a Victory to the Hazard of the Seas and Winds, which they were certain of at Land, by the Valour and Experience of their General, who, to this Day, had kept up the Title of Invincible, and by the Hearts and Courages of their Soldiers, who had been try'd in so many great Dangers. Anthony was much inclin'd to follow this Advice; but Cleopatra, whose Words were Oracles, byass'd him the other way, and oblig'd him against his Will to hazard both his Empire and Life in a Sea-Fight; and this, only that she might escape with more Ease, if Anthony should lose the Day.

Anthony had now resolv'd to fight by Sea, and while he was putting his Fleet in Order of Battel, a brave old Soldier, all cover'd with Scars, spoke thus to him aloud; *My noble General, do you dispise this good Sword, and this old Arm, which all my Wounds cou'd ne'er yet weaken, that you shou'd put your Confidence in little Boats and rotten Wood? Leave the Water to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, People born and nurs'd up in that Element, but leave us Romans to the firm Land, where we may boldly meet Death, and fall like Men.* Anthony answer'd nothing, only by the Motion of his Head seem'd to encourage him, tho' he himself was not well satisfy'd; for when his Officers propos'd taking away the Sails, he oppos'd it, alledging, *That he wou'd have none of the Enemy escape.* That Day, and the three following, the Sea was so rough, they could not engage; but on the fifth, the two Fleets advanc'd towards each other in good Order. Anthony in his Brigantine went about encouraging his Men with the Remembrance of the many Victories they had gain'd under his Conduct, telling 'em besides, *That the Largeness of their Vessels gave 'em Opportunity of fighting as firmly, and with as much Assurance as on dry*
Land;

Land ; and that this Day as he expected the Empire of the World from their Valour, so they might expect Rewards answerable to so noble a Conquest. Octavius on his side gave no less Hopes to his Soldiers, especially since they seem'd fearful of the Enemy's Fleet ; and among other things said, The Enemy's Vessels are laden indeed, but not mann'd ; and if they exceed us in Multitudes of Men, we surpass them in Number of Soldiers. Be therefore now, as ye have ever been, Conquerors ; to speak more were to detain you from Victory, only call to mind your ancient Valour ; and remember that I am Cæsar, and you Romans.

It was both a noble and a terrible Sight, to see the Shore on one Side o'erspread with 200000 fighting Men, and the Sea cover'd on the other with an incredible Number of Vessels fill'd with Soldiers. Nor was the Battel less remarkable, which began on both Sides with great Courage and Bravery, and so continu'd for a considerable time ; when *Cleopatra*, weary'd with Expectation, or overcome with Fear, unexpectedly tack'd about, and fled towards *Peloponnesus* with sixty Sail. And what was still more surprizing, *Anthony* himself, who had formerly shewn so many eminent Marks of his Valour, now forgot the Care of his Honour and Safety, and fled after her, playing the part of a cowardly Soldier, while each of his Soldiers perform'd the Office of a courageous General. Thus *Anthony* abandon'd his Men that so generously expos'd their Lives for his Interest ; and getting into *Cleopatra's* Galley, he sat for a long time by himself in a confus'd melancholy Posture, without so much as seeing the Queen, tho' he had follow'd her without any apparent Reason but the Thoughts of her Absence. The Battel, notwithstanding, continu'd with great Obstinacy till five in the Evening, when *Anthony's* Forces were partly constrain'd by the great Conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly perswaded by the obliging Promises of *Octavius*,

Octavius, to submit; and herein *Octavius's* Clemency did much efface the Memory of the Battle of *Philippi*, and the cruel Proscriptions of the *Triumvirate*. The Consequence of this Victory was very advantageous to *Octavius*; for all *Anthony's* Land-Forces, tho' very firm and resolute for some time, were in a little time after very willing to accept of such Conditions as *Octavius* offer'd, and upon that all yielded to him, *Octavius* generously sparing all but a very small Number, who in a more particular manner were his declar'd Enemies.

Anthony now was carry'd away with melancholy Reflections and despairing Thoughts, and through Shame or Anger refus'd to see *Cleopatra* for several Days together; till arriving at *Tenarus*, her Women so bestirr'd themselves, that they brought 'em to see one another, and to eat together. Here News was brought him by several of his Friends of the Defeat of his Fleet; but not suspecting the Revolt of his Army, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia*, and return to *Asia*, and took what Care he cou'd for the Safety of his Friends that were about him, offering 'em what Money he had, and commanding 'em to leave him. After this he retir'd to *Africk*, from whence he sent *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, and remain'd almost alone, without any other Company than *Aristocrates*, and *Lucilius*; one a *Greek*, and the other a *Roman*, both excellent Orators. Here *Anthony* heard of the Revolt of his Land-Forces, which put him into such a violent Rage and Dispair, that he attempted to kill himself; but was hinder'd from that fatal Resolution by the Prayers and Remonstrances of his Friends, who perswaded him to return to *Alexandria*, where he found *Cleopatra* about an Enterprize that well shew'd the Greatness of her Spirit. This Queen had drawn her Gallies upon Carriages for 100 Miles over that Neck of Land which joins *Asia* to *Africa*, to the *Red Sea*; where she design'd to embark her self

self with all her Treasure, and her choicest Friends, and plant her self in some remote Part of the World. But the *Arabians* soon forc'd her to abandon that Design, and thereupon she apply'd her self to fortify the Avenues of her Kingdom, which were of very difficult Access. *Anthony's* Behaviour was very different, shewing nothing but a shameful Weakness: He shunn'd all Company, and built a House near the *Pharos*, where he shut himself up without either Friends or Domesticks, to imitate *Timon*, as he said, *since he had no less Reason to hate Mankind than that Athenian, being betray'd by those whom he had most oblig'd.* But he cou'd not long force his natural Temper; and therefore, as Debauching is a great Relief to People of his Humour, he quitted his Cell in a little time, and apply'd himself wholly to Feasting and Luxury, and many sorts of Extravagancies.

U. C. IV. *Octavius* was now in *Italy*, whither he was recall'd by *Agrippa's* Letters, after he had pass'd one
724. part of the Winter in *Athens*, and the other at *Samos*. The Occasion of his Return into *Italy* was the Mutiny of his Soldiers which he had sent to *Brundisium* after the Victory, who, after their usual Custom, had demanded their Rewards and their Discharge. *Octavius* stay'd at *Brundisium* but a short time, only while he appeas'd his Soldiers, and gave all necessary Orders; after which with his Fleet he sail'd into *Syria*, while his Army march'd along the Coasts of *Africk* to attack *Ægypt* on the other side. All the Kings of *Asia*, Allies to the *Romans*, came to assure him of their Obedience; and none appear'd more forward than *Herod* King of *Judæa*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his Crown at *Octavius's* Feet, and offer'd him both his Person and his Troops. This Prince was one of *Anthony's* greatest Friends, and for that Reason he had so little Hopes
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of the Success of his Voyage, and in pursuance of his natural Bent to Cruelty, he left Order with two of his Confidents to put his Wife *Mariamne* to Death, whom he passionately lov'd, in case he should miscarry. The Secret was reveal'd to *Mariamne* by one of his Instruments; and *Herod* being reproach'd with it at his Return, caus'd the Death of this unfortunate Princess, who for her admirable Beauty, and her noble Race from that of the *Maccabees*, deserv'd a better Fate. *Octavius*, to give a famous Instance of his Clemency, pardon'd *Herod*, gave him his Crown, and receiv'd him into Favour; but wou'd not spare *Alexas* the Syrian, who had been *Anthony's* greatest Flatterer, and afterwards a most perfidious Traytor to him.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* seeing themselves abandon'd by all their Allies, resolv'd at last to send *Euphronius*, their Children's Tutor, to make some Proposals to *Octavius*. *Cleopatra* privately sent a Golden Crown and Sceptre, with a Royal Seat, to *Octavius*, asking the Kingdom of *Ægypt* for her Children; and *Anthony* only desir'd he might live as a private Man at *Athens*, if *Octavius* was not willing he should tarry still in *Ægypt*. He absolutely reject'd *Anthony's* Propositions, but sent to *Cleopatra*, That there was no manner of Favour which she might not reasonably expect, if she wou'd either put *Anthony* to Death, or Banish him. With this Answer *Euphronius* return'd, and with him *Thyreus*, a Freed-Man of *Octavius's*, a Person very cunning, and fit to manage any Intrigue; who coming with a Message from a young Emperor to an ambitious Princess, possess'd with a mighty Opinion of her own Charms, had no difficult Access to her. But these secret Conferences between *Cleopatra* and him, and the Honours she did him, threw *Anthony* into such a furious Passion of Jealousie, that he immediately order'd him to be cruelly scourg'd, and in that Condition sent him to
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Octavius with Letters, That he had chastiz'd *Thyreus* for insulting over him at a time when his bad Fortune had put him into an ill Humour; but if this Proceeding offended him, he had his Freed-Man *Hipparchus* by him, whom he might use after the same manner, and so be upon equal Terms: Which was a pleasant way of being reveng'd upon *Hipparchus*, the first of *Anthony's* Freed-Men that went over to *Cæsar*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Anthony's* Mind of Jealousy and Suspicion; she redoubled her Fondness and Caresses; and when her Birth-day came, she kept it as was suitable to their deplorable Condition; but *Anthony's* was observ'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, so that all the Guests were enrich'd by the noble Presents she made upon his Account.

In the mean time *Octavius* having gather'd all his Forces together, surpriz'd the City of *Pelusium*, which was surrender'd to him by *Seleucus*; and it was immediately reported, that this Governor had done it by *Cleopatra's* Order; but she, to clear her self, deliver'd up his Wife and Children into *Anthony's* Hands. Near the Temple of *Isis* she had built a stately Building, design'd for a Sepulchre. Into this Place she remov'd all her Treasure, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other such valuable things, and fill'd it besides with Torches, Faggots, Tow, and other combustible Matter; so that *Octavius* was much afraid lest out of Despair she should burn her self in it, with all those vast Riches. Therefore while he was marching towards *Alexandria*, he omitted no Occasion of giving her Assurance of his Respect and kind Usage. The nigh Approach of so formidable a Rival, began once more to rouse up *Anthony*, and reviv'd all those Sparks of Greatness and Generosity in his Breast that seem'd to have been wholly extinct. *Anthony* now knew that he had no Hopes but of dying like a Roman, and this he fully resolv'd upon: So he rally'd all the Troops he had, made

made a brave Sally upon *Octavius's* Horse, and beat 'em into their Camp, which he put into Disorder; nor did *Anthony* ever shew more Courage and Conduct than now. Upon this Victory, *Anthony* enter'd *Alexandria* as in Triumph, and went all arm'd to *Cleopatra*, to bring her the good News of his Success, presenting one of his Knights to her, who had behav'd himself bravely in the Fight. The Queen rewarded his Valour with an Armour of Gold; but that very Night, this ungrateful Wretch went over to *Octavius*, which dangerous Example much troubled *Anthony*. He try'd to provoke *Octavius's* Temper, and challeng'd him to a single Combat; but was coldly answer'd, *That Anthony had Ways enow to die without seeking that.*

Anthony now finding his Affairs in a dangerous Condition, resolv'd to make the last Push both by Sea and Land, with a full Design to conquer honourably, or die bravely. He order'd his People to treat him chearfully, and fill him his Wine plentifully: *Perhaps*, saith he, *this may be the last Service you can do, for to morrow you may have another Master, while I lie extended upon the Ground, despis'd by all Mankind.* Finding his Friends much mov'd at this sorrowful Discourse, he added, *However, I will not do you so great an Injury as to lead you where Death is more certain than Victory.* At the Dead of Night, when the whole City was in a deep Silence, on a sudden was heard a dreadful Noise of Voices, Instruments, and Cries, like those of *Bacchanals*, which pass'd thro' *Alexandria*, and went out of the Gate that look'd towards the Enemies Camp, as *Plutarch* relates it. At Break of Day, *Anthony* posted those few Troops he had remaining upon the rising Ground nigh the Town, from whence he sent Orders to his Gallies to engage the Enemy. They advanc'd in Order of Battle; but as soon as *Anthony's* Ships approach'd the other, the Soldiers all held down

down their Arms, and saluted *Octavius's*; who returning the Salute, both Fleets join'd and stood over-against the City. All his Cavalry seeing this, left him, and went over to *Octavius's* Camp, his Infantry being forc'd to yield.

This unfortunate General, abandon'd thus by his Men, and finding he could not die with Glory in the Field, return'd back to *Alexandria*, overcome with a dreadful Rage and Fury, running and crying out, *That Cleopatra had betray'd him, when he had ruin'd all his Fortunes for her Sake alone!* The Queen hearing of this, in a great Fright retir'd to her Monument, secur'd the Doors, and let down the *Portcullis*; and then made a Report to be spread, that she was dead, which was soon brought to *Anthony*. This sad and sudden News recall'd all that Love and Tenderneſs he had for this Princess; O wretched *Anthony*, cry'd he, *What hast thou here in this World, when Fate has snatch'd the only Thing for which thou cou'dst endure to live?* Then retiring to his Cabinet, he laid aside his Armour, and renew'd his Complaints; O *Cleopatra*, said he, *our Separation is not my greatest Grief, for we shall meet again; but what afflicts me most, is, that I, who have commanded so many gallant Men, shou'd be out-done by a Woman in Courage.* Immediately he call'd *Eros*, the most faithfull of his Freed-Men, whom he had engag'd by Oath to kill him when he should think it necessary, and now bad him perform his Promise. *Eros* drew out his Sword, as if he design'd to perform that fatal Duty; and turning aside, gave himself a Wound, which threw him dead at his Master's Feet. *Dear Eros*, cry'd he, *I thank thee for teaching me to do what I ought my self;* and upon that he thrust himself into the Belly, and fell backwards upon his Bed. Tho' the Wound was mortal, yet the Blood stopping, he came to himself, and most earnestly begg'd of his Friends to dispatch him; but they all fled from him

him, leaving him in a miserable Condition, tossing and struggling with the Anguish of his Pain, whilst *Diomedes* came to carry him to *Cleopatra*.

Anthony understanding *Cleopatra* yet liv'd, begg'd and treated in the most moving Manner in the World to be carry'd to her; and with much Difficulty and Pain they lifted him up to the Door of the Monument. *Cleopatra*, having only her two Women, durst not open the Door, but let down Cords from the Window. All the People of *Alexandria* were present at this sad Spectacle, and nothing appear'd so lamentable as to see this great Man, renown'd for his Conquests and Victories, bath'd in his Blood, and just expiring, holding out his Hands to *Cleopatra*, and faintly endeavouring to raise himself; and to see this famous Queen striving with her Body just out of the Window, with the feeble Assistance of her Women, to pull him up, the People all that time seeming to assist her with their Cries and Tears. When after much Pain she had drawn him up, she embrac'd him, and laid him gently upon her Bed, tearing all her Cloaths in a most violent Passion, beating her Face and Breast, and calling *Anthony* her Lord, her Husband, her Emperor! and tho' her own Misfortunes were very great and astonishing, yet she forgot them all at the sight of this deplorable Object. *Anthony* begg'd of her to moderate her Grief and Transports, and ask'd for some Wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it wou'd soon end him. After he had drank, he exhorted *Cleopatra* to endeavour to save her Life, if she cou'd do it with Honour, and for that End *Proculus* wou'd be her best Friend in *Cæsar's* Camp; that she wou'd not too deeply reflect upon the cruel Turn of Fortune which he felt in his last Days, but rather think what Glory and Renown he had liv'd in, famous for so many noble Victories, Triumphs, and Dignities; and that after he had been the first
Man

Man of the World, and the most Illustrious of all the Romans, he was at last overcome by a Roman.

At the finishing of this Discourse, *Anthony* expired, in the 53d Year of his Age; a Person of as great Spirit and Valour as any among the Romans since the Death of *Julius Caesar*; yet soften'd, overcome, and entirely ruin'd by a Woman. His Death put an end to all the Civil Wars, and gave *Octavius* Opportunity to make his Fortunes as he pleas'd; and from this Period many Historians date his Reign; others three Years after; and some from *Julius Caesar's* Death. This happen'd in the 724th Year of the City, the 3d of the 187th Olympiad, and the 13th of the second *Triumvirate*, about 14 Years after *Julius Caesar's* Death, and 28 before our Saviour's Nativity.



C H A P. VII.

From the Death of Anthony, to the perfect Settlement of the Empire by Octavius; which finish'd all Disturbances, and brought Rome to its utmost Glory.

Containing the Space of about Three Years.

U. C. 724. I. **O**ctavius shew'd great Satisfaction at his Success and Fortune; yet when *Anthony's* bloody Sword was brought to him, the Sight of it oblig'd him to retire into his Tent, where he cou'd not refrain from Tears, when he reflected upon the deplorable End of a Person so eminent both for Birth and Valour, and one with whom he had contracted so

so strict a Friendship and Alliance. He call'd his Friends in, to whom he declar'd, *That he had contributed nothing to the Overthrow of Anthony, through any Hatred or Ambition*; shewing 'em the Copies of the Letters he had writ to him, which contain'd nothing but just and reasonable Proposals, and *Anthony's* Answers full of Passion and Disdain. After this he sent *Proculus* to employ his utmost Address to seize upon *Cleopatra*, extremely desiring to save her Treasure, but more especially to grace his Triumph with this Queen, who had so long triumph'd over the *Roman* Commanders. *Cleopatra* refus'd *Proculus* Entrance, but, through the Door, demanded *Ægypt* for her Children; which caus'd *Proculus*, after observing the Avenues of the Monument, to return to *Octavius*, who the same Instant sent *Gallus* with him to make her new Propositions. While *Gallus* was discoursing with *Cleopatra* below, *Proculus* with two others enter'd by the Window at which *Anthony* had been drawn up; which one of her Women perceiving, presently shriek'd out, *Wretched Princess thou art taken alive!* Upon which *Cleopatra* turn'd quick, and drew out her Dagger to stab her self; but *Proculus* caught hold of her, saying, *Madam, will you at once injure your self and Cæsar, in depriving him of the most illustrious Testimony he can give of his Generosity; and make the best and gentlest Prince in the World pass for Cruel and Barbarous?* Whereupon he disarm'd her, search'd her lest any Poison shou'd be conceal'd about her; and after he had secur'd her, he return'd to *Octavius* with this joyful News.

Octavius was extremely satisfy'd to find this haughty Queen at his Disposal, who before had lifted the Crown of *Ægypt* above the Empire of the *Romans*. He first commanded *Epaphroditus* to guard her with the greatest Care, and yet to serve her like a Queen; after which he made his Entrance into *Alexandria*

after a solemn and pompous Manner. The Majesty of *Octavius*, follow'd by so many arm'd Soldiers, who breath'd nothing but Destruction, drove the *Ægyptians* into great Fears and Apprehensions, imploring his Mercy upon their Knees. *Octavius* told 'em, *He pardon'd 'em for the sake of their illustrious Founder Alexander, for the extraordinary Beauty of the City, and for his great Esteem he had for Arrius, their Fellow Citizen and Philosopher.* Several Kings, Princes, and Roman Senators, begg'd of him the Body of *Anthony*, to pay their last Respects to him ; but he wou'd not deprive *Cleopatra* of a Satisfaction so dear to her ; and more than that, he took Care to furnish her with what was needful for the Pomp of the Funeral, which she solemnized with extraordinary Magnificence. *Octavius* took further Care that nothing shou'd occasion the Increase of *Cleopatra's* Afflictions ; but the Greatness of her Soul, and the Nobleness of her Courage, made the Loss of her Liberty insupportable to her. Her excessive Melancholy, and the many Blows she had given her Breasts, put her into a slow Fever, which gave her great Hopes of ending her Sorrows, and her Life in a short time. She had besides resolv'd to abstain from Eating, if her Physician had not discovered this Secret she had trusted him with to *Octavius*, who immediately threaten'd to put her Children all to Death, if she persisted in her Obstinacy : This was the only thing she could be sensible of, and the Thoughts of this caus'd her to comply, and receive whatever they prescrib'd her.

After this, *Octavius* resolv'd to visit *Cleopatra*, and by his Civilities give her fresh Assurance of his Favour. He found her vpon a plain Bed, and as soon as she perceiv'd him, she rose in her Shift to throw her self at his Feet, with her Hair in disorder, her Face torn, her Breasts bruise'd, her Eyes red with weep-

weeping, and her Voice weak and trembling; all which Accidents cou'd not deface the Brightness of her Eyes, nor the charming Air of her Face. *Octavius* civilly lifted her up, and sat down by her, and immediately she enter'd upon the justifying her Conduct; but when her Art and Skill fail'd her against manifest Proofs, she turn'd her Discourse into humble Supplications, and deliver'd him an Inventory of all her Treasure and Jewels. *Seleucus*, her Treasurer, accusing her of concealing several things, *Cleopatra*, in a great Rage, threw her self out of her Bed, dragg'd him by the Hair, and beat him severely; which some think was only a Pretence of shewing *Octavius* her beautiful Shape and Body, which she had too great a Confidence in. However *Octavius* only smil'd at this Action, and led the Queen to her Bed. O *Cæsar*, cry'd she, after the Honour of visiting me in this miserable Condition, is it not cruel and barbarous, that a vile Slave shou'd accuse me of laying aside a few Trifles; alas! not to adorn myself, but to present 'em to *Livia* and *Octavia*, that their generous Intercession may in some measure procure your Favour? This Discourse gave great Satisfaction to *Octavius*, imagining it imply'd a Desire she had of living; and thereupon he assur'd her, She might keep her Jewels, and that he wou'd use her more generously than she cou'd reasonably hope for; and so retir'd, much satisfied with his Success, having, as he suppos'd overreach'd her.

Cleopatra being soon after inform'd by *Dolabella*, one of *Octavius*'s Favourites, and her Admirer, that *Octavius* had resolv'd within three Days to send her and her Children away, earnestly begg'd of *Octavius* to suffer her to pay her last Oblations to the Memory of *Anthony*, which he granted her. Whereupon she was carry'd to the stately Sepulchre where *Anthony* was laid; and only attended by her too

Women, she fell upon her Knees, embrac'd his Tomb with extreme Grief and Passion; and after a Flood of Tears, she cry'd, *My dearest Lord, I was a Queen, and wore no Chains when I first plac'd thee in this Monument, but now I pay my Duties. I'm Fortune's Slave; my servile Body is reserv'd to grace the Triumph of thy Foes, on which I dare not so much as print the Marks of my Grief. These Tears, these Pangs of Grief, are the last Tokens of the Love and Duty of thy Cleopatra, who now must be forc'd far from thee: No Chance cou'd separate us while living, but our cruel Destiny will part us in our Deaths: And as by a strange turn of Fate Ægypt has afforded thee a Tomb, so Rome will me, the only Courtesie I shall receive from the Country: Yet I hope the Heavenly Powers that guard your happy Abode, (for ours have betray'd us) will stem the Conqueror's Pride, and suffer him not to triumph over thee in my Person. Hide me therefore here, and receive me into thy Tomb; for among all my bitter Grievs and heavy Afflictions, none e'er press'd my Soul so hard as living thus long without thee.*

Upon the finishing of these sad Lamentations, she crown'd the Tomb with Garlands and Flowers, embracing it as if she design'd to grow to it, till her Women took her from thence to a Bath; after which she attir'd her self after a most gorgeous manner, and eat as sumptuously as she cou'd. After Dinner she clear'd the Room of all except *Iras* and *Charmia*; and having procur'd an Asp to be secretly brought in among Figs, Grapes, and Flowers, she apply'd it to her Arm; just before which she sent a Letter to *Octavius*, wherein she most passionately complain'd of her hard Fate, and very earnestly beseech'd him, *That it might be permitted her to be buried in the same Tomb with Anthony*. *Octavius* in all haste sent some Messengers, who found her dead upon a Golden Bed, adorn'd with her Royal Robes, in Posture of
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one asleep, with *Iras* also dead at her Feet, and *Charmia* just breathing, and placing her Diadem right. One of the Messengers very angrily ask'd, *Is this well done, Charmia?* *Extremely well,* reply'd she, *and becoming a Princess descending from so noble a Race of Monarchs;* at which she expir'd at her Mistress's Feet. *Octavius* was extremely troubled at *Cleopatra's* Death, as being depriv'd of the noblest Ornament of his Triumph: However, he cou'd not but admire the Greatness of her Courage, who, notwithstanding the Weakness of her Sex, preferr'd Death before the Loss of her Liberty, or the Appearing below her Quality. He order'd her a magnificent Funeral, laying her Body by *Anthony's* according to her Desire; and her Women were interr'd with considerable Pomp in Memory of their Fidelity. She was then thirty eight Years of Age, having reign'd twenty two, twelve whereof she pass'd with *Anthony*; and her Death put an end to the *Ægyptian* Kingdom, which had flourish'd for many Ages. Her Son *Cæsario*, which she had by *Julius Cæsar*, was shortly after slain by *Octavius's* Orders, who was told by *Arrius* the Philosopher, *That many Cæsars were of dangerous Consequence.* *Ægypt* was now intirely reduc'd into a Province, and *Octavius* caus'd his Soldiers to cleanse the Channels of the *Nile*, which much improv'd the Fertility of the Soil: And since this Kingdom much enlarg'd the *Roman* Dominions, especially as to Riches, and his entire Victories brought Peace to the *Roman* State, at his Return he was receiv'd at *Rome* with an universal Joy and Satisfaction, as a Person who had put an End to the Miseries and Calamities in the greatest Part of the World. He triumph'd three Days; for *Illyrium*, for the Battel of *Actium*, and the Conquest of *Ægypt*, with extraordinary Splendor and Magnificence; all which were attended with a happy shutting of

the Temple of *Janus*, which had stood open 205 Years.

U. C.
725.

II. *Octavius Cæsar* now finding himself Lord and Governor of the *Roman Empire*, partly by the Authority with which the People had at several times invested him, and partly by the Ruin of his Enemies; after this resolv'd to exercise all the Clemency of a sweet temper'd Prince, and all the Cunning of an exquisite Politician. To assure himself of *Anthony's* Adherents was his first and principal Care, to which End he publickly reported, that he had burnt all *Anthony's* Letters and Papers, without reading them; well knowing, that as long as any thought themselves suspected Adversaries, they wou'd never shew themselves real Friends. To the Senators and Magistrates he made sumptuous Feasts and Treats; to the *Plebeians* and Common Sort he exhibited magnificent Shews and Plays; and both he entertain'd with such Variety of Pleasures, as might reasonably banish their Sorrows for the old *Proscription*, and remove their Fears of a new. With great Wisdom and Dexterity he regulated many Abuses and Corruptions in the State; and tho' he would not give up the least part of his Authority, yet he exercis'd it with that Discretion and Moderation, that the Commonwealth was more happy under his Government, than when it enjoy'd all its Privileges. He allow'd the People all their due Liberties, only retrench'd the Liberty of making Factions and Dissentions in the State, and to the Senate he restor'd their ancient Splendour, but banish'd their late Corruption: He contented himself with a moderate Power, which wou'd not afford him the Freedom of doing Ill; but he made it absolute, when it impos'd upon others the Necessity of doing Well. So that the People were not less free, but in
Mat-

Matters of Sedition ; nor the Senate less powerful, but in Matters of Injustice ; and the *Romans* seem'd to have lost nothing of the Happiness that Liberty might produce, but only the Misfortunes it might occasion.

Octavius having establish'd so good an Order, found himself extremely embarras'd with various Thoughts and Opinions, and long consider'd with himself, whether he ought to retain the Government of the Empire, or restore the People to their first Liberty. The eminent Examples of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæsar* put him to many Doubts and Scruples, when he consider'd that the former, who had voluntarily quitted his Authority, dy'd peaceably in the midst of his Enemies ; and the latter, for retaining of it, was assassinated by his most intimate Friends. But then he consider'd on the other side, that the Commonwealth had been so extremely harrass'd and broken by violent Factions and Civil Wars, that the Yoke wou'd prove their greatest Relief, especially as he wou'd manage it. He found likewise that the People of *Rome* had lost most of their ancient Vigour and Desire of Liberty, and the Senate as much of its ancient Firmness and Resolution ; and that there were such numerous Corruptions and such dangerous Distempers in the State, that nothing but a Change cou'd cure or correct 'em. As he consider'd that both Senate and People never wanted a Head so much as at present, the Advantage of which they were in this short time sensible of, so these Considerations gave him great Hopes, and almost as great Resolutions. However, this most wary Prince thought it highly necessary for his own Security to consult his two intimate Friends *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the former most famous for his Courage and Valour, and the latter for his great natural Endowments. *Octavius* taking these two into his Clo-

set, ask'd their Advice, telling 'em among other things, *That they were his Friends, therefore he had made 'em his Judges, as Men that were able to speak Soundly, and willing to speak Freely: That he knew 'em to have a greater Care of his Honour than his Profit, but more of the Commonwealth than of both.*

Agrippa return'd the first Answer to this purpose: You may well admire, my generous Lord, that I, who am certain of an uncommon Promotion under your Empire, shou'd advise you to a private Retirement, but since I esteem your Honour above my own Profit, and the Publick Good before my particular Preferment, I am sure you will pardon me. You have now gloriously finish'd the Civil Wars, and brought an honourable Peace to your Country; but what will the Advantage be, without a Restoration of that Liberty for which those Wars were begun? Or what Benefit can the People reap from so noble a Victory, if it be us'd only as an Instrument for their greater Slavery? A Word so odious to the Roman Nation, that whenever that has seem'd to have been aim'd at by any Person, no Vertues cou'd shield him, no Merits protect him, no Services secure him, from the Rage of the People; no, not those of your great Father Julius: And can you hope to escape? But say, That the Divine Power shou'd so protect you as to out-live such Dangers, wou'd you also out-live your Glories? Are you willing that Posterity should brand you with Tyranny, and perhaps with Baseness, in curbing and putting a stop to the Fame and Grandeur of your Country? A Country which has gain'd all its Renown and Reputation, and owes all its great and glorious Acts to a Government quite contrary to what you seem inclin'd; and a Government under which other Nations have generally been most prosperous and flourishing. Therefore your Generosity shou'd lead you to set your Country free, and since you are already Master of the World's Forces, and without Rival in the Empire, and have both Senate and People at your Mercy; to do it now would strike all Detraction dumb, and make future

future Ages stand amaz'd at the Greatness of your Temper.

Mecænas on the other side declar'd his Thoughts after this manner : *Be not deceiv'd, most noble Prince, with the specious Shew of Words and Names ; but since just Heaven has ordain'd you a Father, as well as a Master of our Country, rather hearken to her real Wants and Necessities, than to the fallacious Clamours of the Rabble, who, like Children, cry for what wou'd be their Ruin. Our Republick is a Ship fraught with Multitudes of various Nations, and destitute of a Pilot, which for many Years has been miserably toss'd and shatter'd, and is now ready to be cast away, without your relieving Hand to save it. In former times indeed this thriving Empire did not seem to want a Monarch ; but it is now grown too vast and unweildy, to subsist without one. Formerly the Strictness of the Roman Discipline and Morality, and the Fears of rival Nations, kept the Commonwealth from sinking : Yet in those pure times, what Commotions in State, what Revolutions in Government, what Divisions and Distractions were occasion'd by the Tribunes Rage and Peoples Madness ? Camillus, Rome's second Founder, and Scipio, that Scourge of Carthage, were disgrac'd ; and the great Coriolanus banish'd, only because their Worth alone had lifted 'em above the ordinary Pitch of Subjects. But then to mention all the numerous Troubles and dreadful Miseries of these latter Times, were to revive our Sorrows, which you in a great measure have allay'd ; and since by your Means your Country has recover'd some of her Spirits, it is your Duty to establish her in perfect Health, which can be no ways done but by retaining the Empire. And this Advice is not only for the Good of your Country, but also for the Security of your Person : For the resigning of your Authority wou'd be the parting with your Safety. Pompey was conternn'd after the Disbanding of his Army at Brundisium ; and tho' your Uncle Julius fell, it was not for retaining his Power, but for grasping of it too*
2 *strongly,*

strongly, which you know better how to manage. In the gaining of an Empire, there is no Medium between the Death of an Enemy, and the Life of a Prince; and since you have already gone so far, you must either resolve to be Greatest in the State, or least among the People, to be Cæsar or Nothing.

Octavius thank'd 'em both for their friendly Advice, and, after some dubious Expressions, declar'd himself rather inclin'd to Mæcanas's Opinion; withal telling them, *That he was but the Instrument of the Destinies, to put their Wills in Execution; and since they had already shewn themselves so favourable to him, he had all the Reason to hope that his Friends wou'd not be backward in their Councils, or any other necessary Assistance.* Upon which Mæcanas proceeded to give him many wise Instructions and Directions, how to manage his Affairs to the best Advantage, both as to his Countries Happiness, and his own Security, as may be seen at large in *Dion, Cassius.* Among a great many other things, he told him, *That his virtuous Behaviour wou'd be a greater Security to him than all his Forces: That if the People found him modest and unblameable in his Life, not exacting Money from others while he abounded in Riches, not pinching others while he was luxurious, nor punishing others while he was loose and licentious, they would certainly love and honour him as a true Father and Preserver of his Country.* But this he told him as his principal Rule by which he ought to guide himself; *Always to preserve the Love of his Subjects; and if he wou'd do exactly as he himself wou'd expect from his Prince, if he were a Subject, then he shou'd not fail of being prosperous in his Designs, happy in his Life, and famous in History.* He concluded all with telling him, *That if in taking upon him the Sovereign Power, he fear'd the Name of Kingdom as odious, he might omit that, and manage all under the Title of Cæsar: If he thought not that sufficient, they wou'd give him*

him that of *Imperator*, and wou'd adorn him with some other venerable Note of Honour ; so that he might enjoy all the Privileges of a Kingdom without the envious Name of a King, which the Romans could not endure. All these things confirm'd *Cæsar* in his former Opinions ; and from this time he began to pursue his Designs with more care and Diligence than ever.

III. The Romans were now arriv'd to their utmost Height as to polite Learning, and an exquisite Taste of Things, as appears from their several Writings : For besides *Virgil*, formerly mention'd at this time flourish'd the two great Wits, *Ovid* and *Horace*, the pleasantest and perfectest Poets in their Kinds ; and likewise *Livy*, the Prince of all the Roman Historians ; all which had a great share in *Octavius's* Familiarity, as well as *Mecænas's*. *Octavius* was a great Promoter of all sorts of Learning, and having brought a General Peace to the Roman Empire, he had a fairer Opportunity both of encouraging that, and of following his other Designs. He had an admirable Faculty of discerning and penetrating into the Humours and Ambitions of the principal Men ; in which he was much assisted by the Letters found in *Anthony's* Coffers, which he carefully preserv'd, and secretly made use of as he found Occasion. As for Words and Libels, he took little or no notice of, having learnt that both from his Uncle *Julius* and *Mecænas*, Never to be concern'd at what was spoken against him. And this Maxim he found much to his Advantage ; for by this he not only understood the Minds and Affections of the People more easily, but perceiv'd that as long as the Common Sort retain'd this Liberty of Speech, they were the less sensible of the Loss of Liberty in State.

Octavius

Octavius was now in his fifth Consulship, and by the Advice of *Mecænas*, he took upon him the Title of *Imperator*; not in that Sense it was anciently wont to be given for Victories obtain'd, but in respect of the chief Command or Authority, as it had been decreed to his Uncle *Julius*. And the great Industry of *Agrippa* was no less serviceable to him than the wise Counsels of *Mecænas*; and notwithstanding he had at first advis'd him to contrary Methods, he now prov'd as useful an Assistant as the other. Shortly after he was made *Censor*, and *Agrippa* with him; and among other things belonging to his Office, he took great Care to purge and reform the Senate, into which many *Equites* and unworthy *Plebeians* had crept, during the late Civil Wars, and then increas'd their Number to a Thousand, which his Uncle had brought to nine Hundred. All this he did with great Moderation and Discretion, always shewing much Respect to that venerable Assembly; and tho' he continually diminish'd their Power and Authority; he still preserv'd their ancient Glory and Dignity, well knowing that *Julius's* Contempt of the Senate, did most of all forward his Ruin; he put two Persons, namely, *Cluilius* and *Furnius*, into the Rank of *Consulares*, because they had been design'd for Consuls, tho' prevented by others. He also rank'd certain Families among the *Patricians*, because most of those had perish'd in the late Wars. One great and publick Way of bridling the Nobility, was his publishing an Edict, forbidding any *Senator* to travel out of *Italy* without his Leave; a thing very strictly observ'd by his Successors: For he well knew that the Presence and Authority of Persons of that honourable Rank might raise great Commotions in an unsettled State. Yet not wholly to imprison 'em, he gave 'em Liberty to

1000 Senators.

to visit *Sicily*, and *Gallia Narbonnensis*, Provinces adjoining to the Continent of *Italy*, altogether unfurnish'd for Wars, and by reason of their Variety of Pleasures, more likely to weaken their Minds, than to arm their Bodies.

In the following Year, *Octavius* having enter'd U. C.
upon his sixth Consulship, together with *Agrippa* his 726.
Colleague, made a *Lustrum*, which was many Years after the last Celebration of one, and in this were four Millions and 63 Thousand Polls of *Romans*, in which Number must be reckon'd all Women, Children, Servants, and Slaves; a Number almost incredible, if compar'd with the present Cities of the World; but the less, if we consider the prodigious Bigness of the City and Suburbs, which good Authors affirm to have been fifty Miles in Compass at this time. *Octavius* at that time likewise celebrated Games, which had been decreed in Memory of his Victory at *Actium*, and it was order'd that they shou'd be renew'd every fifty Year, four Colleges of Priests taking care of 'em; namely, the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Septemviri*, and *Quindecimviri*, by Courses. He caus'd many other delightful Games and Exercises to be made, all at his own Cost and Charges, using all possible Methods to divert the People from fixing their Minds upon his Actions, and their ancient Freedom. He order'd that two Persons of *Prætorian* Rank shou'd yearly oversee the Treasury, and gave to the People four times as much Corn as they were wont to have; to some Senators he gave Money, some of this Rank being so poor, that they cou'd not bear Offices belonging to their Dignity. All Engagements and Debts to the Exchequer he made void, that stood good before the Battel at *Actium*, except what concern'd Buildings. He suffer'd no Sacrifice to be offer'd to *Ægyptian* Gods with-
in

in the *Forærium*, and took great Care about settling Religion, and repairing of the Temples. And because many unjust Things had been ordain'd during the late Seditions and Civil Wars, especially in the last *Triumvirate*, he made 'em all void by one Edict, and caus'd 'em to cease from his sixth Consulship. Thus *Octavius* more and more settled the Peace of the City, and gain'd the Hearts and Affections of the People.

U. C.
727.

IV. *Octavius* now entring upon his seventh Consulship, and finding all matters ripe for his Purpose, he went to the Senate-house, after he had prepar'd all the Senators who were for his Interest, and, in a studied Speech, spoke to this Effect: *When I consider with my self the immense Greatness and boundless Extent of the Roman Empire, I am stricken with Surprise, nay, and Amazement, to imagine that any Mortal dare undertake the sole Administration of so vast a State. What Nation hath not either begg'd Peace at our Gates, or felt the Fury of our Arms at their own? And what Countries have not we conquer'd and brought to Subjection; making the Rising and Setting of the Sun the Bounds of our Dominions? Therefore it must proceed from a wild and extravagant Opinion of their own Abilities, when they pretended to bear that Burden which none but the Immortal Gods cou'd sustain. As for my own Part, who may with Modesty affirm, that I have put an End to all Domestick Wars, and have brought Peace to the City, I dare not presume to attempt it: Tho' I am invited to it by all the powerful Charms of commanding the greatest People upon Earth, and the most glorious Empire next Heaven, and also entic'd by the fairest Opportunity of establishing my self that ever Roman had; yet I freely divest my self of all that Power and Authority, which my Arms have gain'd, and you have given me: An Action which I presume is no less glorious*

rious than just, far exceeding the Conquests of Gaul, of Britain, and of Ægypt; an Action no less hardy than those bold Performances of Cocles, of Scævola, of Curtius, of Regulus, and of the Decii. And further to shew you, that the true Spirit of the ancient Romans is not extinct in me, I do not only restore to you all your former Laws and Privileges, and such Things as I have been intrusted with, but likewise all that I have further acquir'd since my first Authority; and may this Action prove auspicious and fortunate to my Country.

Octavius enlarg'd much upon the Particulars; and upon the finishing his Speech, the Minds of the Senators were variously affected. Many knew his Design, and therefore agreed with his Intentions; the rest either suspected his Aim, or believ'd his Words. Of these, some admir'd his Policy in concealing his Purposes; others were concern'd at his Design, some at his Cunning, and others at his Refusal of the Government. Many hated the popular Form of Government as dangerous in these Times, and approv'd of the Change, being well satisfy'd with *Octavius's* Administration. Most of the rest being worn and weary'd out with their many vain Strugglings for their Liberty, and very desirous of Ease and Rest, chose rather the Present Estate with Security, than to strive to recover the Old with Danger. So that the Product of their several Affections were the same; for those who wish'd he was reduc'd to a private Condition, were very fearful of what might follow; and such as desir'd he might retain his Power, were as sorry for the Loss of their Hopes. Neither cou'd they who did not believe him, reprehend him; for some wanted the Will, and others the Courage to do it. No Man, whether he believ'd his Speech or not, durst commend it,
be-

because a great many were displeased with it, and as many afraid of it. Wherefore having often interrupted him whilst speaking, soon after he had done, they unanimously besought him with many Words and Intreaties, *That he alone wou'd take upon him the Administration of the Government*; and after many Arguments and Persuasions, they compell'd him, as it were, to accept of the Sovereignty. And that his Person might be more safely preserv'd, they immediately decreed the Pay of his Guard to be double to that of all other Soldiers.

Thus *Octavius Caesar*, by his Artifice of pretending to lay down all his Power and Authority, got it confirm'd to him both by Senate and People. Yet that he might seem to be Popular, he refus'd to govern all the Provinces, or to have a perpetual Power over such as he shou'd take care of; therefore the weaker and inward Provinces being in a more peaceable Posture, he left to the Senate; the most powerful and outward Provinces, and those most expos'd to Enemies, he kept to himself, saying, *That he desir'd that the Fathers might enjoy their Power with all Ease and Safety, while he himself shou'd undergo all the Labour and Danger*. But by this politick Contrivance, he render'd the Senate useless and of no effect, and by this he engross'd all the Soldiers and Militia to himself. To the Senate and People were left *Africk and Numidia, Libya call'd Cyrenaica, Asia Minor, Greece, with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia*, and that Part of *Spain call'd Boetica*. *Cæsar* kept the rest of *Spain, all Gaul and Germany, as also Syria, Phœnicia, Ægypt, &c.* which were Frontier Provinces. Over these Provinces he assum'd the Government but for ten Years, well remembering how dangerous the Word *Perpetual* had been to his Uncle *Julius*; and adding, *That as soon as he cou'd quit them,*
he

he wou'd quit his Power. After this he set over the Provinces of both sorts of Men of *Patritian* Dignity, but over *Egypt* one of the *Equestrian* Rank only, and with the lowest Title of all other Governours, fearing lest a Person of the highest Rank, presuming upon the Wealth and Situation of that Country, should prove dangerous to the *Roman* State. He allotted *Africk* and *Asia* to Senators, and the rest of the Provinces to *Prætorians*; but forbidding either to take upon 'em this Employment within five Years after they had born Offices in the City. They held their Government but for a Year; and as soon as Successors were sent 'em, they were immediately to depart the Provinces, and not to fail of being at *Rome* within three Months.

As soon as *Octavius* had but made his Oration about resigning his Command, and distributing the Provinces, many Honours were conferr'd on him, as that Laurel shou'd be planted before his Gates in the *Palatium*, and upon those Trees Oaken Garlands to be hung, as for one who was a perpetual Conqueror of Enemies, and Preserver of Citizens. The House of the Emperor also was for the future call'd the *Palatium* or *Palace*, not by any Decree, but because *Octavius* liv'd on the *Palatium* or *Palatine Hill*, and there was his *Prætorium*: His House also receiv'd some Dignity from the Mount it self, because *Romulus* liv'd there; therefore afterwards, if the Emperors were remov'd elsewhere, yet the Houses were still call'd *Palatia*, or *Palaces*. Immediately after the Provinces were divided, and all Publick Affairs settled, it was debated in the Senate, whether *Octavius* ought to have the Title of *Romulus*, because he had founded the Empire; but the more venerable Name of *AUGUSTUS*, *Augustus* propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, at length seem'd most

most agreeable; for sacred Places and Temples consecrated by *Augurs* were term'd *Augusta* by the Romans. *Cæsar*, tho' he much desir'd that of *Romulus*, yet perceiving he shou'd be suspected of affecting the Title of *King*, declin'd it, and was surnam'd *Augustus*, intimating something in him more than *Mortal*; and this he accepted of, as a Title expressing more Dignity and Reverence, than Authority. And Things are call'd *Augusta*, which are most worthy of Honour, and most Sacred; wherefore the *Greeks* express it by $\Sigma\iota\gamma\alpha\varsigma$, or *Venerable*. From this Day forward began the Sovereign Power and Authority to be in the Hands of one Man, and by a Law call'd *Lex Regia*, all the Power of the People and Senate was transferr'd upon *Augustus*. When his ten Years was expir'd, ten more were added, and after that as many more, so that he had his Authority still continu'd for his Life; for which Cause his Successors, tho' they had the Power settled on 'em for the Term of Life, yet at the End of every ten Years, solemniz'd as it were the Renewing of it.

Thus *Augustus Cæsar* became Supreme Governour of the *Roman* People, neither by Inheritance, nor Usurpation, nor Conquest, nor Election, yet by means of 'em all. This great Change of Government happen'd in the 727th Year of the City, *A. M.* 3978. in the second Year of the 188th *Olympiad*, 482 Years since the Beginning of the *Consular State*, 303 since the Beginning of the *Macedonian Empire*, 33 since the Beginning of the *Mix'd State*, 17 since the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, and 25 before our Saviour's Nativity.

Here ended the greatest *Commonwealth* in the World; and at the same time began the greatest *Monarchy*; a Monarchy so well fix'd, and firmly settled, that not all the *Tyrannical Carriage* of those
Monsters

Monsters of Men that succeeded *Augustus*, cou'd shake it; a Monarchy, which if it be consider'd with others, as to its Power and Riches, together with its Extent and Continuance, there is scarce any room left for Comparifon; and a Monarchy which the *Romans*, for many Years, believ'd indifoluble and immortal. The *Roman* Dominions were now almost brought to their utmoft Extent, containing in *Europe*, *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Dacia*, *Pannonia*, with fome Part of *Britain* and *Germany*: In *Asia*, all thofe Provinces which went under the name of *Asia Minor*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, with Part of *Mefopotamia* and *Media*; and in *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, *Numidia*, *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*: befides many Iflands, and fome Parts of other Provinces. All which comprehended the greateft, and far the beft Part of *Europe*, with very large Parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, being no lefs than between 3 and 4000 Miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly Revenues of the Empire, by a moderate Computation, it has been reckon'd at nigh forty Millions of our Money, whereof *Gaul* paid five, and that without being extremely burthenfome to the People. But what ftill makes it feem greater, is, what *Vefpafian* told the Senate at his coming to the Empire, that he wanted 40000000 of *Seftertiums* to fettle the Commonwealth, which amounts to 312000000 of our Money.

As for the *Romans* themfelves, they had now nothing fo elevated a Temper, either for the Greatnefs of Genius, or the Force of the Soul, as in fome time in the Republick; but had fomething more Polite and Sociable; and never were more glorious; or at leaft more pleafant Times than now, all Wars and Contefts ceafing, all Arts and Sciences flourishing, and all Riches and Pleafures increafing.

In short, *Augustus* made the World happy, and was happy in the World ; he had nothing to desire of the Publick, nor the Publick of him : And considering the many Evils he occasioned before he came to the Empire, and the great Good he did after he was Emperor, it was said with good Reason, *That he shou'd never have been born, or never have dy'd.* But for his Actions afterwards, and his further Settlement of the Empire, I must leave to the other Volume of this History.

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